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BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Place of Publication: B. = Berlin; Bo. = Boston; Br. = Breslau; Chi. = Chicago; Cin. = Cincinnati; Ed. = Edinburgh; F. = Freiburg i. Br.; G. = Göttingen; Gi. = Giessen; Go. = Gotha; Gü. = Gütersloh; Hl. = Halle; L. = Leipzig; Lo. = London; M. = München; N. Y. = New York; P. = Paris; Ph. = Philadelphia; St. = Stuttgart; Tü. = Tübingen; W. = Wien.

Prices: $ = dollar; M. = Mark; f. = franc; L. = lira; s. = shilling; d. = pence; fl. = florin; Kr. = Krone.

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NOTE — *Date* of publication, when not given, is that of 1897.

Months: Ja., F., Mr., Ap., My., Je., Jl., Ag., S., O., N., D.

PERIODICALS.

A. = Arena.
AC. = L'association catholique.
ACQ. = American Catholic Quarterly Review.
AkKR. = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht.
AJSL. = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
AJTh. = American Journal of Theology.
AMZ. = Algemeine Zeitung-Zeitschrift.
BAZ. = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, München.
BBK. = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.
BG. = Beweis des Glaubens.
BS. = Bibliotheca Sacra.
BU. = Bibliothèque universelle.
BW. = Biblical World.
BZ. = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
CR. = Contemporary Review.
ChOR. = Charity Organization Review.
ChR. = Charities Review.
ChrK. = Christliches Kunstblatt.
ChrL. = Christian Literature.
ChrQ. = Christian Quarterly.
ChrW. = Christliche Welt.
ChQR. = Church Quart. Review.
DA / *ZThK.* = Deutsch-amerik. Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche.
DEBl. = Deutsch-evangelische Blätter.
DR. = Deutsche Revue.
DZKR. = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht.
EHR. = English Historical Review.
ER. = Edinburgh Review.
Et. = Etudes.
ET. = Expository Times.
Exp. = Expositor.
F. = Forum.
FR. = Fortnightly Review.
GPr. = Gymnasialprogramm.
Hk. = Halte was du hast.
HN. = L'humanité nouvelle.
HR. = Homiletic Review.
HSR. = Hartford Sem. Record.
HZ. = Historische Zeitschrift.
ID. = Inaugural Dissertation.
IER. = Indian Evang. Review.
IJE. = International Journal of Ethics.
Ind. = Independent.
IThR. = Internat. Theol. Review.
JA. = Journal asiatique.
IAQR. = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review.
JBL. = Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature.
JM. = Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums.
JQR. = Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JTVI. = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute.
Kath. = Der Katholik, Zeitschr. f. kathol. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.
KM. = Kirchl. Monatsschrift.
KT. = Kyrklig Tidskrift.
LQ. = Lutheran Quarterly.
LChR. = Lutheran Church Review.
LQR. = London Quarterly Review.
M. = Museon.
MA. = Mittheilungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, *e.g., Berlin, München.*
MCG. = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft.
MGkK. = Monatsschrift f. Gottesdienst u. kirchl. Kunst.
Mi. = Mind.
MIM. = Monatsschrift für innere Mission.
M&N / *DPV* = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
Mo. = Monist.
NA = Nuova Anthologia.
Nath. = Nathanael.
NC. = Nineteenth Century.
NCR. = New Century Review.
NkZ. = Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift.
NW. = New World.
Ou. = Outlook.
PEFQS. = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement.
PhM. = Philosophische Monatshefte.
PhR. = Philosophical Review.
PQ. = Presbyterian Quarterly.
PRR. = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.
Pr. = Progress.
PrM. = Protestantische Monatshefte.
PSBA. = Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archæology.
QR. = Quarterly Review.
RAAO. = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
RB. = Revue biblique.
RBé. = Revue bénédictine.
RChR. = Reformed Church Review.
RChr. = Revue chrétienne.
RChrS. = Revue de christianisme sociale.
RdM. = Revue des deux Mondes.
REJ. = Revue des études juives.
RHLR. = Revue d'histoire et de litérature religieuses.
RHR. = Revue de l'histoire des religions.
RQ. = Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alterthumskunde u. f. Kirchengeschichte.
RS. = Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne.
RTh. = Revue théologique.
RThPh. = Revue de théologie et de philosophie.
RThQR. = Revue de théol. et des quest. relig.
SA. = Sitzungsberichte der Akad. d. Wiss. *e. g., Berlin, München,* etc.
StKr. = Theol. Studien und Kritiken.
StWV. = Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede.
ThQ. = Theologische Quartalschrift.
ThR. = Theologische Rundschau.
ThSt. = Theologische Studiën.
ThT. = Theologisch Tijdschrift.
UC. = L'Université catholique.
UPr. = Universitätsprogramm.
VwPh. = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.
WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZA. = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZAeg. = Z. für aegyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde.
ZATW. = Z. für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZDMG. = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.
ZDPV. = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZeRU. = Z. für den evangelischen Religionsunterricht.
ZKG. = Z. f. Kirchengeschichte.
ZkTh. = Z. f. kathol. Theologie.
ZMR. = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft.
ZPhKr. = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik.
ZprTh. = Z. f. prakt. Theologie.
ZSchw. = Z. f. Theol. aus d. Schweiz.
ZThK. = Z. f. Theologie u. Kirche.
ZwTh. = Z. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie.

THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES, AND THE BIBLICAL WORLD

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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[REMARKS AND LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS, SEE P. XXXII.]

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PERIODICALS.

AA. = Arena.
AC. = L'association catholique.
ACQ. = American Catholic Quarterly Review.
AGPh. = Archiv f. d. Geschichte der Philosophie.
AJSL. = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
AJTh. = American Journal of Theology.
AkKR. = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht.
AMZ. = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.
BAZ. = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, München.
BBK. = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.
BG. = Beweis des Glaubens.
BS. = Bibliotheca Sacra.
BU. = Bibliothèque universelle.
BW. = Biblical World.
BZ. = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
CR. = Contemporary Review.
ChOR. = Charity Organization Review.
ChQR. = Church Quart. Review.
ChR. = Charities Review.
ChrK. = Christliches Kunstblatt.
ChrL. = Christian Literature.
ChrQ. = Christian Quarterly.
ChrW. = Christliche Welt.
D-A / *ZThK.* = Deutsch-amerik. Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche.
DEBl. = Deutsch-evangelische Blätter.
DR. = Deutsche Revue.
DZKR. = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht.
EHR. = English Historical Review.
EKZ. = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung.
EMM. = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin.
ER. = Edinburgh Review.
Et. = Etudes.
ET. = Expository Times.
Exp. = Expositor.
F. = Forum.
FR. = Fortnightly Review.
GPr. = Gymnasialprogramm.
Hk. = Halte was du hast.
HN. = L'humanité nouvelle.
HR. = Homiletic Review.
HSR. = Hartford Sem. Record.
HZ. = Historische Zeitschrift.
IAQR. = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review.
ID. = Inaugural-Dissertation.
IER. = Indian Evang. Review.
IJE. = International Journal of Ethics.
Ind. = Independent.
IThR. = Internat. Theol. Review.
JA. = Journal asiatique.
JBL. = Journal of Biblical Literature.
JM. = Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums.
JQR. = Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JTVI. = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute.
Kath. = Der Katholik, Zeitschr. f. kathol. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.
KM. = Kirchl. Monatsschrift.
KT. = Kyrklig Tidskrift.
KZ. = Katechetische Zeitschrift.
LChR. = Lutheran Church Review.
LQ. = Lutheran Quarterly.
LQR. = London Quarterly Review.
M. = Muséon.
MA. = Mittheilungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, *e.g.*, *Berlin*, *München*.
MCG. = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft.
MGkK. = Monatsschrift f. Gottesdienst u. kirchl. Kunst.
Mi. = Mind.
MIM. = Monatsschrift für innere Mission.
M&N / *DP-V* = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
Mo. = Monist.
NA = Nuova Anthologia.
Nath. = Nathanael.
NC. = Nineteenth Century.
NCR. = New Century Review.
NkZ. = Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift.
NW. = New World.
OLZ. = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.
Ou. = Outlook.
PEFQS. = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement.
PhM. = Philosophische Monatshefte.
PhR. = Philosophical Review.
PQ. = Presbyterian Quarterly.
Pr. = Protestant.
PrM. = Protestantische Monatshefte.
PRR. = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.
PSBA. = Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archæology.
QR. = Quarterly Review.
RAAO. = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
RB. = Revue biblique.
RBd. = Revue bénédictine.
RChR. = Reformed Church Review.
RChr. = Revue chrétienne.
RChrS. = Revue de christianisme sociale.
RdM. = Revue des deux Mondes.
REJ. = Revue des études juives.
RHLR. = Revue d'histoire et de litérature religieuses.
RHR. = Revue de l'histoire des religions.
RQ. = Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alterthumskunde u. f. Kirchengeschichte.
RS. = Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne.
RTh. = Revue théologique.
RThPh. = Revue de théologie et de philosophie.
RThQR. = Revue de théol. et des quest. relig.
SA. = Sitzungsberichte der Akad. d. Wiss. *e. g.*, *Berlin*, *München*, etc.
StKr. = Theol. Studien und Kritiken.
StWV. = Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede.
ThQ. = Theologische Quartalschrift.
ThR. = Theologische Rundschau.
ThSt. = Theologische Studiën.
ThT. = Theologisch Tijdschrift.
UC. = L'Université catholique.
UPr. = Universitätsprogramm.
VwPh. = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.
WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZA. = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZAeg. = Z. für aegyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde.
ZATW. = Z. für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDMG. = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.
ZDPV. = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZeRU. = Z. für den evangelischen Religions-Unterricht.
ZKG. = Z. f. Kirchengeschichte.
ZkTh. = Z. f. kathol. Theologie.
ZMR. = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft.
ZPhKr. = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik.
ZprTh. = Z. f. prakt. Theologie.
ZSchw. = Z. f. Theol. aus d. Schweiz.
ZThK. = Z. f. Theologie u. Kirche.
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TRIUMPH OF THE INNOCENTS *W. Holman Hunt*

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

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THE PURPOSE OF SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHING

WHAT is the true purpose of Sunday-school teaching? Aim clearly recognized determines means, method, and spirit. No more fundamental question, therefore, can be asked respecting the work of the Sunday-school teacher than this. The answer must be based, not on mere names, for institutions often grow beyond their names; nor merely on past history, for the past is not necessarily the measure of the present. Appeal must rather be made to the place which the Sunday school is actually filling or attempting to fill in the complex work of the church and the kingdom.

TEACHING THE BIBLE THE CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

The Sunday school is somewhat more than a school. Some of its exercises belong rather to worship than to instruction; its characterization as the children's church, most unfortunate in some respects, is not wholly wrong. But instruction holds, or certainly ought to hold, the central place. The Sunday school is essentially a school, and specifically a school for the study and teaching of the Bible. Even those who dislike the name Bible school will admit that, whatever the purpose of the school founded by Robert Raikes, this term correctly describes the character of the institution according to the now generally accepted ideal. But if this be so, it follows that the aim of the teaching done in the Sunday school ought to be the acquisition on the part of the pupil of knowledge of the Bible.

Yet this is not all that is to be said. Another fact must be taken into account before this definition be accepted as adequate.

Its Ultimate Purpose Religious

The Sunday school as now existing is an agency of the Christian church. It is to be classed along with public worship, preaching, and prayer meetings, as one of the means by which the church seeks to accomplish its great aim, the conversion of men and their cultivation in Christian character. Occupying this position, the Sunday school cannot find its ultimate aim merely in the acquisition or impartation of knowledge, even though it be knowledge of the Bible. It must seek a moral and not merely an intellectual end; it must aim at character as well as knowledge. And, if so, then of course the moral must be the ultimate aim; knowledge of the Bible, the means to the end; and the aim of Sunday-school teaching must be recognized to be, through teaching of the Bible, to secure the conversion of the pupil, and his development in Christian character.

Such a conception of the purpose of Sunday-schoool teaching gives to the Sunday school a distinct and definite place. It

The Sunday School has a Distinctive Place of its Own

distinguishes it from other schools which, though they may not exclude the Bible from the curriculum, do not make it the only or even the chief subject of study, and which, though they recognize the necessity of including the cultivation of character in their aim, assign to it at the most a place alongside the storing and training of the mind. It assigns to the Sunday school a definite place in the varied activities of the church, distinguishing it from the ordinary public service in which, though biblical instruction is included, worship and the immediate application of truth to life are the determinative elements; from the prayer meeting, the characteristics of which are the interchange of Christian experience and the cultivation of the devotional spirit; from the evangelistic service, where the human will is directly addressed, and men are urged to right decision; and from the philanthropic work of the church, in which the spirit of Christianity expresses itself in deeds of kindness. Such a conception of the work of the Sun-

day school recognizes the peculiar relation of our religion to the Bible, and the necessity that underneath worship and devotion, ethical instruction and persuasion of the will, missions and philanthropy, there shall be a firm foundation of knowledge of that preëminent revelation of God which is the source and support of Christianity. It recognizes the need of one service, which, having the same ultimate aim as that which is sought in all the activities of the church, shall seek that end specifically by instruction in the Bible.

Reasons for this Definition of its Aim

If it be asked why the Sunday school should seek its ultimate aim in a sense by indirection, why the ultimate purpose should not in every service of the church be directly and avowedly sought, at least two valid answers may be given. In the first place, there are certain ends which, at least with some people, are best attained by indirection. It has long been recognized that the affections are best cultivated, not by commanding ourselves to love those to whom we owe love, but by pursuing a course of action which tends indirectly to cultivate love. The same principle holds in the cultivation of character. What argument and appeal and exhortation wholly fail to accomplish can with some minds — perhaps it is true to a certain extent of all minds — be accomplished little by little through instruction, conveyed either in the exposition of teachings, or in the study of history, especially of biography. And, in the second place, it must certainly be acknowledged that the most solid results in character cannot be attained except upon a broad foundation of knowledge. The fervent appeal, often spurning knowledge and ignoring instruction, may seem at the time to be most effective in saving men and advancing the interests of Christianity. But all experience proves that alike in the life of the individual and the development of the kingdom, real and permanent progress is made only when zeal rests on a solid foundation of knowledge of the truth. The letters of Paul, especially those of the latter part of his life, lay great emphasis upon the necessity that love shall abound in knowledge and discernment.

Effect of this Conception on the Work of the School

The conception of the purpose of Sunday-school teaching which we are advocating, viz., that it is to seek the common end of all religious activity, the conversion and moral cultivation of men, by a distinctive method, instruction in the Bible, has important relations to almost every problem of Sunday-school management. The character of the curriculum, the qualifications of teachers, and the method of study and of instruction will all be in no small degree determined by its acceptance or rejection. If the Sunday school is a school and is to attain its end primarily through instruction in the Bible, does it follow that it ought to have a definite curriculum, each year's work of which shall be adapted to the pupil's stage of development? And will a graded curriculum do away with the principle of uniformity so long followed? If the Sunday school is a real educational institution, can it be carried on by untrained teachers, and, if not, what is the nature of the training required, and what are the necessary qualifications, intellectual and moral, to be demanded in teachers? Have we today, can we have in the near future, any large number of teachers who possess these qualifications? If not, must we secure proper teaching by a system of larger classes fewer in number? And will this again affect in an important way our church architecture? Finally, if instruction is the central function, and yet not the only function, of the Sunday school, what are the other legitimate departments of its work, and how are these departments related to the teaching work and to one another? It is our purpose to take up some of these questions for discussion in the Biblical World from time to time. It must suffice for the present to name them.

NAZARETH THE HOME OF JESUS.

By Hon. Selah Merrill, LL.D.,
Andover, Mass.

Quietly, unobtrusively, by a few simple references in the early part of the gospels, chiefly that of Luke, Nazareth appears upon the stage of history, never to pass into oblivion, always thereafter to hold a unique position in the affairs of the world. Its origin is not known, both sacred and profane annals are silent respecting it; but suddenly, as a lifted cloud sometimes reveals a mountain summit, the veil is removed, and Nazareth, "beautiful for situation," becomes at once the point whither the eyes of men are directed with surpassing interest—a place forever dear to their hearts.

The situation of The Home of Jesus must first receive our attention. On the top of a mountain, sixteen hundred feet above the level of the Mediterranean, there is a small, shallow valley, about one mile from east to west and one quarter of that distance from north to south. To the northwest of this valley rises the summit of the mountain on the lower slopes of which Nazareth is built, so that the town's greatest length is from northeast to southwest. To the east of the town is the village spring, the only source of water supply, except what is collected in cisterns. The surface of this little valley is not level like the bottom lands of some river, but undulating or broken rather, since the underlying rock has pushed through the surface and formed many low, rough hillocks, some of which are covered with olive trees. Round this valley runs a line of hills of unequal heights, but not over four hundred feet at the highest point—the summit already referred to. Every visitor has observed the inclosed appearance of this mountain town as unusual, for throughout all the highlands of Palestine its cities and villages commonly occupy the most commanding positions,

and writers have repeatedly called attention to these surrounding hills, as if they were designed to guard from intrusion this sacred spot. The rock formation of the region is limestone, and in the encircling hills great patches and seams of white appear wherever the earth has been washed away; but the soil on the hillside and in the valley has been cultivated, so that the general appearance is attractive and even beautiful. Prickly pear serves for hedges; fruit trees—pomegranate, orange, lemon, fig, and olive—form clusters of green on the landscape; cattle graze here and there; in the spring a carpet of flowers is spread over hill and valley, and in the early summer fields of waving grain ripen for the harvest. The situation of Nazareth suggests a quiet, peaceful manner of life, directly in contrast to the bustle and din of seaport towns or great commercial centers.[1]

This valley presents different aspects according to the season of the year when it is visited; if it is early in the year, the husbandmen are industriously caring for their gardens; if in midsummer, the great threshing floors just south of the village are covered with oxen "treading out the corn," Deut. 25 : 4. At another season numerous pleasure parties are seen gathered in the shade of fig or olive tree, and at another time, when these royal fruits have ripened, groups of men and women are busy gathering and preparing them for winter use. Thus throughout the year, except in the rainy months, the landscape of Nazareth offers a great variety of charming pictures of happy peasant and village life.

There are many roads leading to Nazareth from different parts of the country, as (1) from Mount Tabor and the east; (2) from Nain, Endor, and the southeast; (3) from Jenin, Samaria, and the south; (4) from Carmel, Haifa, the seacoast southwest and west; (5) from Acre, Seffurieh—an old capital of Galilee—and the northwest; (6) from Tiberias, the Horns of Hattin, Cana of Galilee, *Kefr Kenna*, and the northeast. By all these routes, with perhaps a single exception, the traveler, a few minutes before he reaches the town, is on high ground, so that

[1] ROBINSON, *Researches*, II, 339–44. STANLEY, *Sinai and Palestine*, 356–60; 437–45. TOBLER, *Nazareth*. MERRILL, *Galilee in the Time of Christ*.

NAZARETH

Nazareth, with its quiet basin, its buildings, the circle of hills, and all its attractive features, comes before the eye at once. This sudden view is one of surprise and pleasure, quite apart from any sacred associations; but to the Christian the pleasure is enhanced, because he knows that he is looking down upon the earthly home of Christ. Certainly it is no slight thing to look for the first time upon a scene like this.

Suppose we pause for a moment on some elevation south of Nazareth and look over at a glance, as we can easily do, the entire place. Being built on the slope of the hill, the houses, from this point, show to the best advantage. The village is longest, as we have said, from northeast to southwest and mounts the slope to the northwest. The southwest section, on our left, is the Latin quarter. The opposite end of the village, the northeast, is the Greek quarter; while on the east, almost directly in front of us, is the Mohammedan quarter.

Immediately before us, beyond the threshing floors, is the *khan*, the lodging place of all caravans and beasts of burden that pass this way. Beyond that is the Latin monastery, and within it is the Latin Church of the Annunciation. To the west of the monastery is the Latin hospice, known also as the Casa Nuova. West of that is the English mission church, surrounded by a beautiful garden, and farther north is the English mission school. Quite to the left of the town is a Maronite church. We see an irregular open place, corresponding to a very crooked street, beginning on the south and coming out on the west side of the village—this is the market place of Nazareth. Like all Oriental market places, no attempt was ever made to have it convenient, properly arranged, neat, and attractive. Directly before us we see the house of the Turkish governor, and the mosque with its graceful minaret. Farther north is the Greek church, and also the residence of the Greek bishop, rising from the midst of a garden of trees and shrubs. Up the slope to the northwest is the English hospital, and the orphanage of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, under the care of the English, which is a fine and imposing structure. Just at the eastern end of the town our eye rests upon some dilapidated

graves in an open field; this is the Mohammedan cemetery, showing the usual signs of neglect. Northeast of this there is another cemetery, quite neat in appearance, which belongs to the Greeks, and near it is the Greek Church of St. Gabriel. Between this spot and the town files of women are seen every morning and evening passing to and fro, carrying jars of water, for just south of the church of St. Gabriel is the Virgin's Well, which supplies the people of the village with water.

Twenty or thirty years ago there was little to distinguish Nazareth from the common, unthrifty, neglected appearance of other Oriental towns, but within a recent period foreign influence, which has been almost wholly missionary in character, has worked a wonderful change in this respect, so that now a considerable number of attractive private residences and public buildings have been erected, all of white stone, which make it picturesque and beautiful.

It was inevitable that traditions should spring up in connection with such a place as Nazareth, and these are interesting, if for no other reason, for the manner in which they affect different individuals. Some persons consider them of great importance both for devotional and historical purposes, while another class are repelled by them. It is to be hoped that the latter are in the large majority. As the place during the early centuries of our era was occupied almost entirely by Jews, Christian traditions would most likely be of late origin, the earliest of them originating probably not prior to 400 A. D., while most of them arose at a much later date. Historical notices are few, and monumental evidence does not exist, except it be in the Fountain of the Virgin. This fountain has always existed, and there can be no doubt that it was often frequented by the child Jesus and his mother. The Church of Gabriel, already mentioned as situated near this spring, is the Church of the Annunciation of the orthodox Greeks, who claim that it was at this fountain, at the moment when she was drawing water, that Mary received the first salutation of the angel. The *protevangelion* is authority for this statement, and hence the Greeks at an early period built here their church. In this matter they seem

to have the advantage over the Latins, whose place of Annunciation is the spot where the Latin monastery now stands, in the southern part of the town. The spring which supplies the Virgin's Fountain is actually beneath the Greek church, close by the altar, and there is an opening in the floor of the church by which the water is reached to supply visiting pilgrims. The underground conduit which carries the water to the fountain is only a few yards in length.

The Latin Church of the Annunciation, situated within the walls of the Latin monastery, is made attractive externally by a garden with cypresses and palms. The present building, seventy feet by fifty, was erected in 1730, and its walls are covered with pictures. The Chapel of the Annunciation is in a grotto, to which we descend by a flight of fifteen marble steps, bringing us to the vestibule which is the Chapel of the Angels, where are two altars, St. Joachim on the right and the Angel Gabriel on the left. Between these we enter the Chapel of the Annunciation, where is an altar, over which is written: "Here the Word was made flesh." Immediately beyond this is another dark room, called the Chapel of St. Joseph, and over its altar are the words: "Here He became subject unto them." A marble column marks the exact spot where Gabriel stood, and another, suspended from the ceiling, called Mary's column, that where the virgin received the angel's message.

Over this spot the House of the Virgin is said to have stood formerly, which, as tradition is not limited as to time, space, or any other inconvenient circumstances or conditions, was carried off bodily by angels to prevent its being desecrated by the Mohammedans. From its first flight, which was a long one, it alighted in Tersato, near Fiume, in Dalmatia, and from the next it alighted in Loreto, Italy. Some suspicion must have attached to this miracle from the very first, for it had to wait two full centuries before it was finally accepted as sober, authentic history.

A rock cavern just beyond the Chapel of St. Joseph, small, dark, and rude, is called the Virgin's Kitchen. Two hundred yards north of the monastery, still in the Mohammedan quarter,

is a Latin chapel, built in 1859, called the Workshop of Joseph, and above its altar is a picture, presented by a lady of Florence, representing Joseph at work, assisted by Jesus. In the extreme west of the town is another small chapel of the Latins, called

FOUNTAIN OF THE VIRGIN

Mensa Christi, or Table of Christ, because it contains a large block of limestone, ten feet by twelve and four feet high, where Christ dined with his disciples before and after the resurrection. This tradition is said to be quite modern. The synagogue in which Christ was teaching when the crowd sought to kill him is still shown, but as it has been moved from point to point at different periods, it has, of course, no claim to respect, although the existence of such a synagogue is mentioned as early as A. D. 570, by Antoninus Martyr, who says that "there was still hanging in it the volume in which the Lord learned his ABC, also a beam on which the Lord sat as a child." The last of the traditions which will here be noticed is the Mount of Precipitation,

or cliff, down which the excited inhabitants wanted to throw Christ, Luke 4:29. This is about two miles south of the village, a point looking down upon the great Esdraelon plain—as improbable a place as could well be selected. It may be mentioned here that there is a small cliff to the west of the town, near the Maronite church, which, it is thought, might answer the conditions for the "brow of the hill" of the passage just referred to in Luke's gospel.

Our purpose was to visit the earthly home of Christ, and we feel that the time is lost which is spent in considering such childish stories as have just been told. As one result, however, we can assert with special emphasis that in the manufacture of traditions zeal is absolutely blind to probabilities, and also that, when men attempt by inventions of their own to add to the plain records of the gospels, they produce only clumsy work, which has nothing to commend it to the human intellect or heart.

From tradition we turn to the gospels to see what they have to tell us of Nazareth. Their testimony is meager, but extremely valuable so far as it goes. The New Testament mentions this place thirty times, but in a large majority of cases in the formula "Jesus of Nazareth," which is varied as "Jesus the prophet of Nazareth," Matt. 21:11, or as "Jesus Christ of Nazareth," Acts 4:10. The remaining notices, arranged historically, present themselves as follows: Gabriel was sent "unto a city of Galilee named Nazareth," Luke 1:26. At the time of the taxing by order of Augustus Cæsar, Joseph and Mary went from Nazareth, a city of Galilee, to Bethlehem to be enrolled, Luke 2:4. After the return from Egypt, Joseph and Mary "came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth," Matt. 2:23, which in vs. 22 is said to be in Galilee. Again Nazareth is called, speaking of the parents of Jesus, "their own city," Luke 2:39. When John began his ministry, Jesus went from Nazareth in Galilee to meet him on the Jordan, Mark 1:9. At a later time Jesus "came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day and stood up to read," Luke 4:16. Here is evidence of residence in Nazareth for a period covering a considerable number of years; also that

Jesus was accustomed to attend divine service; that he was accustomed to read in the synagogue; and certainly that Nazareth had a synagogue. Still later it is said that Jesus left Nazareth and took up his abode in Capernaum, Matt. 4 : 13. Besides these notices there remains one passage which is supposed to have reference to the character of Nazareth, found in the response of Nathanael to Philip, John 1 : 46: "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?"

The interpretation of this passage is of more than ordinary importance. The words are simple, and, on the face of them, their meaning is clear. We can, therefore, take them literally. But the objection is that they are too sweeping. It is beyond human experience that the statement should be true. Something is affirmed of Nazareth that could not be true of any other city in the world. Moreover, the character of the speaker, Nathanael, must be considered. Jesus said of him that he was a man "in whom was no guile," John 1 : 47. Consequently, he must be far above any feeling of contempt, any narrow, local prejudice. The moment we take Nathanael's words literally we get into trouble. On the other hand, the national expectation at that time was that Christ was to appear at Bethlehem, and in this expectation Nathanael shared. Under these conditions, in his surprise at what had been affirmed, he exclaimed: "Can the good thing which we expect come from Nazareth? We know prophecy, and can the Messiah come from Nazareth?" This is the natural interpretation, it is consistent with the facts, and it involves no contradiction in the words of Christ.

We shall be able to appreciate Nazareth more correctly if we consider its relations geographically to other towns of more or less historical note that lay almost immediately about it. Haifa, on the sea, and the foot of Carmel were eighteen miles to the northwest. In the same general direction, but a little farther to the north, was Acre or Ptolemais, where the Roman army gathered by land and sea at the beginning of the Jewish war. Safed was twenty-three miles to the northeast; Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee sixteen miles to the east; *Żerin*, the ancient Jezreel, ten miles to the south and visible from Nazareth through an open-

ing in its rim of hills. Tabor was five and a half miles to the east and in full view from Nazareth. *Kefr Kenna* or Cana of Galilee was less than four miles to the northeast. *Seffurieh*, the capital of Galilee during a large part of Christ's life, was three and a half miles north. Jotapata, now *Jefat*, where occurred one of the most prolonged and desperate sieges of the Jewish war, was nine miles north; and Japha, whose inhabitants resisted the Roman advance with heroic bravery, was two miles south. A place so sightly, so attractive as a summer resort from the seacoast and the Jordan valley as well, with roads leading in every direction, and in near proximity to some of the most important cities of the province, could hardly have been so "isolated" as is sometimes alleged. Isolation cannot always be predicated of a secluded place.

One of the most remarkable views in Palestine is obtained from the summit of the hill which rises above the town of Nazareth. In about fifteen minutes from the village the highest point is reached, where is a white *wely*, called *Neby Ismail*, *Sa'in*, or *Sim'an*, for it has different names, and from here one looks out on a marvelous world. The extent and variety of the scene are surprising. Dr. Robinson said: "I shall never forget the impression I received as the enchanting panorama burst upon me." The present writer first saw this picture in 1869, and with every repeated visit since that time it has become to him more and more wonderful. What a wilderness of mountains on every hand! To the east the hills beyond the Jordan, Mount Tabor, Little Hermon, *Jebel Duhy*, and Gilboa; to the south the mountains of Samaria and the long, wooded range of Carmel stretching on to the sea; to the north the delightfully picturesque Galilean highlands; and to the northeast rises majestic Hermon, with its crown of snow. But mountains are not all; to the north lies the beautiful plain *El Buttauf*, the Asochis of history, dotted with olive groves; to the south the great Esdraelon plain, sweeping westward to the Mediterranean; at our feet the quiet valley of Nazareth; and to the northeast and east the vast depression in which lie the Sea of Galilee and the river Jordan, both of which are out of sight. Moreover, the

whole region is dotted with scenes of human interest—Deborah and Barak, and Sisera whose hosts the Kishon swept away; Gideon and the routed Midianites; Elijah and his vindication against the prophets of Baal; Saul, Samuel, and the witch of Endor; Jehu in his chariot rushing madly towards Jezreel; Jezebel and her tragic death; Saul and Jonathan struggling against the Philistines and dying together; these are but a fraction of the events which took place in the region spread out before us on this commanding summit. Earth, sea, and sky, mountain, hill, valley, and plain, river and shore, caravans and routes of commerce, battlefields and birth places of famous men—certainly objects of sublimity and beauty are here combined as nowhere else in the world. We are thrilled and delighted; but such feelings are nothing compared to the intense gratification that would be ours could we be told how all this variety and magnificence of natural scenery impressed our Lord himself. This summit was often visited by him, many times he looked thence abroad over his Father's world, and how was he affected by it? No doubt he appreciated it all far more keenly and truly than we possibly can, but to him who "must be about his Father's business" it may have seemed of far less importance than it does to us.

The meaning of the name Nazareth, at present *En Nasirah*, has been a puzzle to scholars and possibly can never be determined beyond dispute. But in this case, as in the interpretation of John 1 : 46, when all other methods fail, it is wise to try the *common-sense* method. In every country prominent hills have names given them which express some individual peculiarity; and what possible objection can there be to applying this rule to Nazareth? The Hebrew word *nâtzár* means *to behold, to look, to watch.* The simplest explanation seems to be the best; let us then make Nazareth, which is from this root, mean *Watch Hill*, or some name of similar import. The inhabitants of a vast extent of country on every side, and the multitude of sailors on the Mediterranean as well, would inevitably regard this summit as a landmark, even if they did not look up to it with feelings of awe.

If in the New Testament times Nazareth had a population of ten thousand souls, it numbers at present not more than seven

thousand or eight thousand. The English hospital and missions, with their schools, have been referred to, and patient laborers are still carrying on here the Master's work with earnestness and faith. Statistics, however, convey no adequate idea of the success or real value of Protestant missions in an Oriental country. The work cannot be measured by what is accomplished in a single year; rather should we ask, what has been accomplished in a generation? To such a question the answer is most encouraging; from such a point of view the outlook is inspiringly hopeful. There is a steady uplifting of the people in all the phases of their life, such as is wrought only by the transforming power of the spirit of God.

"ANCILLA DOMINI" (THE ANNUNCIATION)—DANTE GABRIEL ROSETTI

JESUS AS A MAN OF AFFAIRS.

By Austin Bierbower, Esq.,
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While Jesus was a good model, as far as his conduct went, it may, perhaps, be thought that he was not called on to take part in many of life's experiences for which we most need an example. His life seems to some an impractical one, like that of a theorist or dilettante, without any business or worldly interests such as most men have, and which most try their morality. While, accordingly, he was a sufficient example for the retired and recluses, or for the old or poor, who have little to do, was he an example for the business men and politicians, the great shippers and manufacturers, the railroad magnates and insurance officers, and would his type of morality do for the requirements of a lightning-rod agent or a police detective? His gentleness and inoffensiveness, his loving and forgiving disposition, his truthfulness and elevation of mind, are not disputed; but whether he showed the qualities which one must have who will govern men, like Napoleon, or manage the unmanageable, like T. B. Reed, is not so clear. It is important to know how to act morally in successful public life, with its wire-pulling and necessary partisanship, and to exercise the rougher virtues of a frontiersman and warrior. Unless Jesus was sufficiently worldly and practical as to appear a well-rounded man, his example must have less value for us. As this consideration is usually overlooked in showing the sufficiency of Christ as an example, I propose here to present the more stern and secular side of his character.

And, first, there is often required bluntness and severity in life, when the feelings and opinions of others must be squarely antagonized, and when the word and tone of authority must be heard. There are times when self-assertion and a timely *No*

will do more than sweet persuasiveness, and when, instead of "mincing matters," fools must be called fools, and nonsense severely suppressed, after the manner of Bismarck. Now, Jesus had this character, and gave some marked examples of it. He rebuked his disciples repeatedly for their stupidity, telling one that it was none of his business when he asked a silly question. "What is that to thee? follow me." He called the Pharisees a set of fools, and ridiculed their ceremonious washing of pots and observing of meat distinctions. He called his audiences a generation of vipers, and spared no epithets against the bigotry of the priests. He called Peter Satan, and told him to get behind him. He said of Judas: "One of you is a devil." He tolerated no nonsense, but said plainly what he meant, after which, we are told, no man durst ask him any questions. "I told you once," he said, and refused to humor his hearers with a useless repetition. He understood human nature, in short, and knew how to use the right weapons with it, whether tender or severe.

In his conduct, as well as his words, he exhibited like severity when it was required. He made a sort of cat-o'-nine-tails, and, like a policeman with his club, upset the tables of the hucksters, and drove the money changers and merchants out of the temple. "Think not," he said, "that I am come to send peace on earth. I came not to send peace, but a sword." He denounced Chorazin and Bethsaida, and said that Capernaum should be brought down to hell. He told his disciples to shake off the dust from their feet against such as would not receive them, and promised that vengeance should follow their curse.

He also exhibited all that is meant by moral courage, whether in word or conduct. He said just what he meant before everybody, and never compromised his purpose. Besides telling the Pharisees what he thought of them, as we have seen, calling them hypocrites, whited sepulchers, devourers of widows' houses, and ridiculing their petty rites and distinctions, he faced his people's prejudices, and dispelled their hopes and pretensions of superiority. He told the proud Nicodemus that he must be born again; the rich young man that he must sell his goods and

give to the poor; the disciples who were aspiring for the high places in his new kingdom that they must seek to serve rather than to be served, and the scribe who wanted to follow him, that, while the foxes have holes and the birds nests, he had no place to lay his head. He kept his mind and that of his hearers with steady persistency on the one object in view, and never varied his utterances for policy or convenience. He raised no false hopes, and made no misleading promises; but, like all great leaders in great movements, he dared to present the exact issue, and, like Garrison or Loyola, wait till his purpose should prevail. Bold, persistent, and uncompromising, he was the highest model for the leader, the reformer, and the statesman; and anyone having a great work to do, or great numbers to control, may find in him an example in that rôle. Though Webster wavered on freedom, Blaine on Chinese rights, and Boulanger on republicanism, Christ never forsook his principles. To one and all he everywhere uttered the same message, and never adapted it to popular changes or prejudice.

He was also eminently brave, and no example of bravery for practical life is required which he did not give; whether it be bravery to stand up for one's opinions and purposes, or to meet danger in carrying them forward. He foretold his death, and calmly went to meet it. When the time approached in which he was to be offered up, he went straightway to Jerusalem where he was to die. Though escape was at hand, he refused, like Socrates, to assent to it, choosing rather to die than do anything mean. He commanded Peter to put up his sword, when he began to fight for his Master. On his trial, when he might have saved his life by an evasion or by silence, he refused to do so, but gave evidence against himself by uttering the truth which it was his mission to proclaim. When questioned by the high priest whether he was the Son of God, he said that he was, and, like Socrates before his judges, aggravated his answers by still greater pretensions, saying that he would come again in power; so much so that the priest answered: "What further need have we of witnesses? behold now ye have heard his blasphemy." To Pilate, who asked whether he was king of the Jews, he

answered plainly that he was, although he knew that such answer must seal his fate. He showed all the bravery required of the soldier, the frontiersman, or the wild Indian himself. He met his enemies and his death without flinching, and without asking or accepting quarter.

He was also practical, and did much that may serve for an example to practical men in their practical work. For, though he was not a business man in the usual sense, but a moralist or philanthropist, without the usual responsibilities of business men, he yet had something to do in this line, and he did it in a businesslike way, and with all the moral uprightness needed in an example for business men. He chose a good class of disciples and assistants — honest, candid, and fitted for their work. There were several remarkable men among them, particularly Peter and John, who would make their mark on any age. It was as good a body of a dozen men as any practical man could pick up out of the lower classes, without culture or wealth, especially in such a remote and obscure region. Though they were fishermen, revenue collectors, and workingmen, they made their mark on the age even apart from the luster thrown upon them by Christ. None of them ever abandoned him except Judas, who hung himself for his mistake. His associates were not unlike those of all successful reformers. Peter and Paul resembled Huss and Jerome in the Bohemian Reformation, Luther and Melanchthon in the German Reformation, Zwingli and Calvin in the Swiss Reformation, and Whitefield and Wesley in the English Reformation; and the parallel might be extended farther. Jesus showed himself an organizer no less than did Wesley and Calvin in constructing the parts of the church and managing its appointments. He was practical in the propagation of his gospel, reducing to simplicity its essentials, like Melanchthon, and giving timely instructions for every measure. And he did this without tricks or dishonesty; showing no jealousy or improper favoritism, and using and giving no false motives. It was an honest as well as successful administration which he conducted, and therein a model of business management to public men.

Nor was he over-sanguine or unmindful of the dangers and

difficulties in his way, as an impractical leader would have been; but he foretold his disciples what they might expect, and dilated on the worst. He told them of the divisions they should encounter, of anti-Christs and competitors that should come, of persecutions and death that they should individually suffer. He had a practical sense of the discouragements in his work, and provided systematically to meet them. He adapted in all things adequate means to his ends, and did not rely on chance to further them.

Jesus showed, in fact, about all the qualities that are necessary for success. He was patient and did not expect immediate results. He bided his time, and knew how to labor and to wait; he often said: "My time is not yet," and with cool foresight looked far into the future for the accomplishment of his plans. He was not to be discouraged with partial or temporary failure, and never gave up a project once undertaken. He had that most essential of all business qualifications — decision — and went on, when he once began, to the end of his resources. He never appeared in doubt, or changed his plans. He did not undertake impossible or impracticable tasks, or impose them on others. He calculated the value and the cost of everything, and told his followers now not to cast their pearls before swine, and now not to go into the cities of the Samaritans to preach. He did not waste time on useless projects or persons, but left them as soon as he proved their fruitlessness. The barren fig tree he cursed after it had been sufficiently watered and digged about. Jerusalem he left to her fate after he had given her sufficient warnings. There was a time when he stopped working with men, and left them to their responsibilities.

He also showed his business insight and capabilities by his practical maxims, which, while shrewd and calculated for success, also guarded morality. He asked his disciples to be as wise as serpents and harmless as doves, which is the sum of business wisdom; that they should give good measure, pressed down, shaken together, and running over, that they might get it in return; that they should not hastily pass judgment, that they might not themselves be so judged; that they should not go to

law, lest in passing from court to court and appeal to appeal they should finally land in prison, as many litigants have learned to their cost. In the Golden Rule he gives the best of all precepts for business conduct. He balanced the advantages of conflicting interests, and spoke for the highest good, when he asked: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" While yielding nothing of worldly interest, he showed by the simple business standard of profit and loss that it is best to be good, claiming that to a proper life all else will be added. More broad and comprehensive in his maxims than Franklin (taking in the whole of life and not this only, and all interests and not the material only), he is not less worldly wise in their application.

He had occasion, also, to show himself a man of policy, as the business man is often required to do; and both in what he did and what he said he exhibited a practical sense and integrity that will serve as a luminous example for business men. He understood even the tricks of this class, and drew some good illustrations from them, speaking of a man who had found a treasure in a field, and went and sold all his possessions and bought that field; also of the sharp practice of one who, when dismissed from his master's employ, compounded with his master's debtors at 80 and 50 per cent., that they might favor him in turn when out of employment. He even commended the shrewdness of this trickery, and advised his followers to use like prevision, instead of the proverbial business incompetency of the "children of light" as compared with the children of this world. "Make," he said, "to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when it fails they may receive you into everlasting habitations."

He was also diplomatic when occasion required; he knew when to speak and when to be silent, and how much to say, and just what to say. He precipitated no crises and raised no needless opposition, though he never yielded his principles in his policy. When Peter blundered into confessing that Christ paid tribute, Jesus corrected him, saying: "What thinkest thou, Simon? Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or

tribute? of their own children or of strangers?" And when Peter said, "Of strangers," "Then," said Christ, "are the children free." "Notwithstanding," he further says, with an enlightened policy, "lest we offend them, go thou, etc."—pointing out an unusual way to get the money and so to get out of the difficulty. So, when they showed him a coin, and asked, with a view to catch him in some disloyal expression, or else make him abandon his professions of superiority, whether it was proper to pay tribute to Cæsar, he asked in reply whose image and superscription the coin bore; and, when they told it was Cæsar's, said: "Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's and to God the things which be God's;" an answer which could give no offense. He refused to answer all impertinent questions at his trial, though with the discrimination of a lawyer he answered those that were material, and which fidelity to his mission required him to answer. He held his peace when asked about the accusation that he proposed to destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days, but, when charged to answer whether he was the Son of God, he replied promptly that he was. And when before Pilate he was asked whether he was the king of the Jews, he answered in the affirmative; but when asked by the same Pilate touching the charges of the chief priests and elders, "he answered him never a word; insomuch that the governor marveled greatly." And when he was crucified, he answered nothing in response to the jeers and sneers of the rabble, but made proper arrangements for the maintenance of his mother; and to the dying thief who asked for his remembrance he said: "This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise."

Christ had the usual personal accomplishments necessary to public and business men of success. He was a man of good address, with all the advantages of commanding utterance so essential to this class. He everywhere appeared as a master, and evoked that title from the people. He spoke as one having authority and not as the scribes; so that, while others said, "Thus it is written," he said simply, "I say unto you," and did not scruple to set aside or modify existing authorities. In conversation he did not descend to trivial matters, but preserved a

noble dignity in both the subjects and manner of his speech. Before his disciples, before the Pharisees, before the Samaritan woman, before Pilate, he everywhere exhibited composure and commanded respect. He knew how to assert himself and make his word final. He ordered about his disciples, and even the crowd, as if subordinates, telling them as servants now to get waterpots and now to go on shipboard. He managed his cause himself, never taking his disciples into his counsel, but holding their opinions in about the same inferior respect as Hannibal or Napoleon held those of his generals. He was a natural ruler and leader of men, and commanded when he could not convince. Though he often changed others' opinions and plans, they never changed his; but while considering no opposite views, he followed his own leading with self-reliance, and assumed the responsibility without irresolution. He passed for superhuman among his contemporaries, who eagerly accorded every honor to his dignity; and, though the whole civilized world for eighteen hundred years has looked at him as a God, it has pointed out no act or word of his unworthy of a God.

But he was, at the same time, modest with it all. He made no designed show of his superiority; he participated in no pomp; he was unassuming in his manner and dress; and he mixed with the poor and the rich with indifference, neither ashamed of the former nor embarrassed by the latter. When he had cured the blind man, he said: "See that no man know it." He told his disciples at another time to tell no man that he was the Christ.

He was also equal to the situation in any emergency where wit and wisdom were in order. He was quick at repartee and pertinent in his suggestions. He would have shone at any banquet, in any drawing room, with business men, statesmen, or literary men. His remarks at the feast of the Pharisees, among the rabbis, and before Pilate are examples of this. Some of his answers are among the brightest *mots* on record.

He was also brief and sententious in style, speaking with businesslike directness, always to the point, and with epigrammatic brilliancy. He was never dull or uninteresting, but commanded

attention and consideration when he spoke, like one who knew about what he was talking. This I might illustrate from almost any of his sayings, which have generally passed into proverbs and been used by all subsequent thinkers as the best vehicles of thought. His Sermon on the Mount is the shortest of all speeches for the quantity of matter it contains, and the Lord's prayer the shortest of all prayers for the fulness and plainness of its petitions.

He was also a good reasoner, clear, correct, and plausible. He argued by analogy, from Scripture, *ad hominem*, and by every other process, as the character of his hearers or the subject required. He usually silenced his opponents, if he did not convince them, and invariably came off the field victor. It was a practical logic that he used, enlivened by the concrete materials of his subject, like that of business men in their rapid dealings, and not the long, lifeless processes of the theoretical dialectician. When he had cured one sick of the palsy and also said to him, "Thy sins be forgiven thee," and the scribes accused him of blasphemy for this last utterance, he asked, "Whether is easier, to say, 'Thy sins be forgiven thee,' or to say, 'Arise, and walk'?" When John, discouraged and in prison, sent word to him asking in doubt whether he was the one that should come, or whether they looked for another, he replied, with cogent reference to his credentials: "Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them." When a man with a withered hand appeared before him, and the cavilers sought to trap him, saying, "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath day?" he answered: "What man shall there be among you that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the Sabbath day will he not lay hold on it and lift it out? How much then is a man better than a sheep? Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath day?" His arguments were striking, brief, and conclusive. He used no tricks or immaterial or irrelevant reasonings, but was always fair and compassed all the points involved.

He was also liberal and tolerant; and, notwithstanding his

great superiority and knowledge, he charitably regarded those who differed with him. His principal quarrel was with the Pharisees, and with them because they were narrow, sectarian, and proselyting, regarding themselves as better than others, and shutting up the kingdom of righteousness to their little church and churchly ways. His parable of the good Samaritan, whom he held up in favorable contrast to the Jew and the Levite, taught kindness and charity to those of different races and religions. He was not narrowly bound by scripture or precedent, but revised, reformed, and adapted to the time and to all men the religion of his people. He took in publicans and sinners, Greeks and Asiatics, outsiders and nonconformists, as well as orthodox Jews and Pharisees. His church and his work were not in any way exclusive, and his ideal was the brotherhood of all men. "Many," he says, in contrasting the faith and goodness of outsiders with those of the existing church, "shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven. But the children of the kingdom shall be cast into outer darkness." When John said to him, "Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and he followed not us, and we forbade him because he followed not us," Jesus said, "Forbid him not; for there is no man who shall do a miracle in my name that can lightly speak evil of me;" and he added, "For he that is not against us is on our part."

And so in general Jesus was preëminent in all the qualities which make up the successful man of business, of position, and of power. He was not a mere good man without being anything else, or a faultless man without great positive virtues. He was not an impractical, theoretical, or in any way incompetent man. He exhibited all the qualities which go to make up a practical life, and exhibited them in examples or perfect purity, honesty, and benevolence. He was a model for the conduct of man in business, in mastery, and in all the higher and bolder movements of life, as well as in childhood, sickness, and death. He was a model for the scholar, the artist, and the diplomat, as well as for the laborer and mendicant. His life was on a sufficiently high

and varied plane to sympathize with the greatest and be a lesson for all. It was not a life of weakness or narrow specialty showing itself in perfection, but of great variety and energy. And though he did not appear in all the practical occupations, he yet appeared in all the virtues, and exhibited especially the virtues required in such occupations. He was a man in every sense—a manly man—with the ability, the common sense, and the moral courage to do anything whatever; and had he not been what he was—a moral teacher—he might have been what any of us are—a carpenter, a merchant, or a statesman.

THE TEMPTATION IN THE WILDERNESS.

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The temptation in the wilderness is usually explained as a temptation of the *man* Christ Jesus. The threefold assault was upon the three parts of Christ's human nature—body, soul, and spirit—by the triple agency of evil—the flesh, the world, and the devil. The appeal was made successively to the innocent human desires to live, to be recognized, and to accomplish. But such explanations do not give sufficient emphasis to the significant, "If thou art the Son of God," with which two of Satan's propositions begin. This is not the suggestion that doubt exists in Christ's mind; for doubt, after God's explicit declaration, "Thou art my beloved Son," would itself be sin. Rather it is the open recognition of Christ's divinity as the starting point of Satan's assault. This *if*, as Godet says, has almost the force of *since*. Christ is to be tempted, not as the son of Mary, but as the Son of God. And to understand the nature of the temptations we must study them in their relation to his Messianic work. They do not belong to the points in which he was tempted like as we are, except in so far as we, too, are sons of God and striving to do Christ's work in the world.

Whether and to what extent Jesus before his baptism was acquainted with his divine mission as the Messiah is a question over which scholars may dispute. But all will agree, I think, that the baptism, with the accompanying testimony from heaven and the descent of the Holy Ghost, must have brought that mission to his mind with new and mastering force. In the forty days which followed, while he wandered in the wilderness, Christ's thoughts must have centered upon the mighty work to which he had been called. He was to be the Messiah, the founder and ruler of the kingdom of God, the Savior of man-

kind. That work, vast as it was, he was ready to undertake unhesitatingly, for his obedience to the Father's will was perfect. But how should it be performed? How should he draw all men to him, and win their acceptance and allegiance? This was a question which must be answered before he could enter upon the work. It was the problem which filled his mind to the exclusion of all else as he wandered alone in the wilderness. He was the Son of God; the forerunner, the Father, and the Spirit had borne witness to that—how should he induce his fellow-men to accept him and obey him as such?

There were several possible ways which presented themselves. "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread." The Jews were awaiting a Messiah who would do precisely that thing. His kingdom, so they expected, would be an earthly paradise. Their rabbis delighted in telling how in the Messianic days a kernel of wheat would be as large as the kidneys of an ox, the trees would bear fruit all the year round, a single grape would load a wagon, and men would draw wine from it as from a cask. They were hungering and thirsting after a Messiah who would work such miracles. Such miracles were in Christ's power, and in themselves were perfectly right. As the Lord of nature he could command it to feed his followers; and he could banish hunger, disease, and death from his realm. All men would come flocking into such a kingdom, and his mission would be speedily and easily accomplished. But what of the character of the kingdom? What of the subjects who served for loaves and fishes? The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. Would turning stones into bread create this? Would it not rather have just the opposite effect, and make men more sensual and carnal than ever? There could be but one answer to such a question. The temptation was recognized and put aside. "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."

If men are not to be drawn into the kingdom by their appetites, may they not be allured into it by their imaginations? Let Christ, the King of Israel, descend borne on the wings of

angels into the courts of the temple where the priests and rulers daily assemble to pray for his coming, and immediately the Sanhedrin will accept him, and the whole Jewish nation will bow in adoration. This is perfectly proper; for in what way should he use his divine authority, if not in proving to men that he is the Son of God? Men will expect this, and demand it. Why not meet their just demands, and thus establish the kingdom promptly and firmly? But, again, what of the nature of such a kingdom? Will there be anything spiritual about it? Righteousness, peace and joy—do these come through marveling at miracles? Can you surprise men, or dazzle men, or scare men into the kingdom of heaven? As a matter of fact, the miracles which Christ wrought in his public ministry often seemed to hinder rather than to help his work. The excited crowds which they attracted elbowed and jostled each other, eager to gratify a low craving for the marvelous, but showing no desire to learn and follow the truth. Faith which is founded merely on miracles is vain. The desponding cry of Christ, "Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe" (John 4:48), echoes Moses' expostulation with Israel at Rephidim when "they tempted the Lord, saying: Is the Lord among us or not?" (Ex. 17:7). And against any display of divine power to win admiration or superstitious following from men there abides the command—whose significance is found by studying the scene at Rephidim—"Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God" (Deut. 6:16). The gift of miracle working must not be prostituted. Christ will by a wonderful sign draw all men unto him; but the sign shall be a Messiah lifted up upon the cross instead of borne down from the pinnacle of the temple.

The third temptation does not begin with "If thou be the Son of God," because it is concerned, not with Christ's use of the divine power, but with the character of his proposed kingdom. The Jews were chafing under the Roman yoke, and were ready to follow any leader who would promise them deliverance. With the wildest enthusiasm they would greet him, and lay down their lives to place him on the throne of David. Christ was of

royal descent, and might properly claim the Jewish crown. Why not establish the kingdom of God by first restoring the kingdom of David? Take the sword to win the scepter; and when this has been secured, then make all things work together for righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. But can the earthly kingdom be secured except by a sacrifice of the heavenly? Can a man serve two masters? If he would receive a crown from the people, Christ must consult their wishes and follow their leading; and to do that would in reality be to bow before the prince of this world and do his bidding. When that fact is clearly recognized, the temptation is overcome, and the tempter spurned. "Get thee hence, Satan," for it is written, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

This brief outline of the three temptations is sufficient to show their official character. They may be profitably studied in their relation to Christ's three offices of prophet, priest, and king. As a prophet he must feed the hungry multitude with the Word of God instead of giving them stones made bread. As a priest he must offer for us "a body bruised for our iniquities" instead of one which angels bear up in their hands. And as a king he must ever proclaim, "My kingdom is not of this world." But I need not stop to elaborate.

It is a familiar thought that the temptations of the wilderness were set before Christ again in his public ministry. Luke evidently hints at this in his significant statement, "when the devil had ended the temptation, he departed from him *for a season*." But, so far as I know, it has not been pointed out that of the three temptations each has a special relation to one year of the ministry, so that we may find in the great struggle of that year a repetition of an experience in the wilderness. Disregarding the chronological order of the temptations as uncertain and unimportant, we may say that the temple temptation corresponds to the first year, the bread temptation to the second, and the mountain temptation to the third. If this be so, then Christ in the wilderness did something more than pass through a general testing preliminary to entering upon his pub-

lic work; *he went through that whole work in anticipation, and fought its fight year by year.* To make this evident, let us look at the special character of each of these years.

The first year is that of the Judean ministry — begun in Jerusalem, and carried on afterwards in the land of Judea. Our only record of it is found in a few chapters of John's gospel; but this is enough to make its nature evident. It was an attempt to gain from the priests and Sanhedrin an official recognition as the Messiah. It began with the purification of the temple — an act which proclaimed Christ's authority in the most public and unmistakable manner. This at once called forth the question, "What sign showest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things?" In this act and question we have the whole year's struggle set forth. Christ demanded that the official head of the nation should proclaim him to be the Messiah; the priests and Sanhedrin demanded before doing this such a sign as they expected from the Messiah. It was the temptation which Satan already had put before him when the two stood upon the pinnacle of the temple. Had he done what Satan suggested, what the rulers demanded, the Sanhedrin would at once have proclaimed to the nation, "Our Messiah has come," and his kingdom would have been established. As it was, the miracles he did work created only imperfect faith among the people, and Nicodemus alone of the Sanhedrin gave him a guarded recognition.

The second year is the year of the Galilean ministry. This was an appeal directly to the people in the less bigoted and more independent land of Galilee. If they would give him recognition, Jerusalem and the Sanhedrin might eventually be brought to imitate them. The ministry of this year differs greatly from that of the first. It abounds in miracles of healing; it is filled with seeming popularity. For a whole twelve months Galilee is in ecstasies over the wonderful person who has appeared in their midst; crowds follow him, life is like a holiday, all are full of rejoicing, and — with the exception of the emissaries from Jerusalem — all are ready to hail him as their Savior. But when we look at the cause of this sudden affection,

we see that it is purely selfish. The desires of the people are fleshly; what they seek from Jesus is relief from bodily pain and physical wants. They think they have found in him a Messiah who turns the very stones into bread. It is the temptation of the wilderness repeated on a larger scale. And when Christ refuses to gratify their sensual cravings, they at once abandon him. The cessation of popularity is as sudden as its rise. When the people can no longer use their Messiah, they have no use for him.

To the third year it is difficult to give a name which shall describe it geographically; we may call it the year of peripatetic ministry. It is spent in the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, of Decapolis, of Magdala, of Cæsarea Philippi, of Judea beyond Jordan. In fact, if we wish a single word which shall describe its locality, we might take this oft-repeated word "coasts." The character of the ministry is evident. Christ now withdraws, as far as possible, from the multitude, and devotes himself to the training of the Twelve. He has sought recognition from the rulers, and they have demanded a sign; he has preached to the people, and they have clamored for loaves. Now he takes up the task of fitting the apostles to preach the kingdom of God after his approaching death; and lo! the only kingdom which they are willing to hear about is a temporal one. They thirst for earthly authority; they misunderstand his words, and cannot imagine that he must be crucified; they quarrel among themselves about positions of authority when he shall receive a throne; and they urge upon him the restoration of the kingdom of Israel. It is the temptation of the mountain set before him by his own bosom friends. And not without reason does he rebuke Peter in exactly the same words he used to Satan.

It is very instructive to notice in this connection that each of the three years of ministry closed with an act by which Christ seemed to yield to the temptation dominant in that year, but really rejected it. The deed which was demanded was performed; but it was performed in such a way as to disappoint the expectations of those who demanded it, and to emphasize the truth which opposed the temptation. The priests and rulers

asked a sign; so the Judean ministry closed at the second passover season by the healing of the impotent man at Bethesda, a miracle so public and indisputable—for the man was known to all the city as incurable—that no attempt was made to deny it or explain it away. But with the miracle came the command to carry a bed on the Sabbath, which so aroused the indignation of the Jewish authorities that the resolution to put Jesus to death was now for the first time framed. Concerning this miracle Ellicott properly says: "This is the turning point in the gospel history. Up to this time the preaching of our Lord in Jerusalem and in Judea had met with a certain degree of toleration, and, in many cases, even of acceptance; but after this all becomes changed. Henceforth the City of David is no meet or safe abode for the Son of David; the earthly house of his heavenly Father is no longer a secure hall of audience for the preaching of the Eternal Son." The discourse which followed this miracle, and whose central thoughts are, according to Westcott, "the nature and prerogatives of the Son, the witness to the Son, and the ground of unbelief," must be studied with reference to the special conflict with temptation which had been going on throughout the year, and now was brought to a triumphant close. If, as is probable, it was spoken before the Sanhedrin, it is still more significant.

The Galilean ministry ends with the third passover season, though Christ was still in Galilee as the passover drew nigh. Throughout its twelve months the people had been clamoring for the gratification of their sensual cravings, and now Christ apparently yielded to their clamor by the miracle of feeding the five thousand. But this miracle, again, was accompanied with words and acts which utterly disappointed the expectations it had aroused, and caused the people to abandon him, not, perhaps, so much in rage as in disgust. The discourse at Capernaum is Christ's own commentary upon the whole Galilean work. The excited multitude came flocking thither; and "he told them" (I quote from Stalker) "how much they had been mistaken in him; they were looking for a bread-king, who would give them idleness and plenty, mountains of loaves, rivers of

milk, every comfort without labor. What he had to give was the bread of eternal life. His discourse was like a stream of cold water directed upon the fiery enthusiasm of the crowd. From that hour his cause in Galilee was doomed: 'many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him.' It was what he intended. It was himself who struck the fatal blow at his popularity." In other words, another temptation of the wilderness was once more met, and in this decisive manner forever overcome.

The third year, likewise, ended with a passover season—the last in Christ's life. And its important closing act was the triumphal entry. The significance of this, and its influence in bringing about the crucifixion, are seldom sufficiently emphasized, To the excited multitude, and doubtless to the ambitious disciples also, it seemed as if Christ at last was going to fulfil their expectations, and set up his throne in the royal city. They greeted him with the cry, "Blessed be the king that cometh in the name of the Lord; blessed be the kingdom of our father David." They led the way directly to the temple; they expected that there he would break the long silence, and proclaim himself their ruler; then the Romans would at once be driven out of Jerusalem, and presently out of all Palestine. The whole city was in a tumult, and it required but a single word from Christ to precipitate a revolution. But again he bitterly disappointed them. His entry in lowly fashion they might excuse, as being the fulfilment of ancient prediction; but his utter silence when he was within the temple and they waited to hear him speak, and his quiet withdrawal to Bethany as eventide drew nigh, were more exasperating than any spoken rejection of their temptation. The rage of thwarted ambition explains why Judas was ready to make a bargain with the priests, and why the multitude who shouted "Hosanna!" on Sunday, howled "Crucify him! Crucify him!" on the following Friday. The high mountain on which Satan for the last time spread before the Son of God a vision of the kingdoms of the world and said, "If thou wilt worship me, all shall be thine," was none other than Mount Moriah itself.

Such then, in brief, is the relation of the three temptations

in the wilderness to the three years of Christ's public ministry. Of course, it is not claimed that each temptation was confined wholly to one year, so that no trace of it can be found in the other two years; but only that each temptation was foremost in some one year, and by its preëminence gave character to the struggle of that year. So exact seems to me the correspondence between the temptations and the ministry that I would not hesitate to divide Christ's public life into the sign year, the bread year, and the kingdom year. Such names would be really helpful in studying the character of his work.

If the view which I have set forth be correct, we can understand why Christ related so fully, and apparently so often, to his disciples the struggle in the wilderness, though he said nothing about his other solitary experiences. He was endeavoring by this revelation to make them understand the nature of the struggle they witnessed in his public ministry, and to see in it a repetition of the temptations which Satan had already presented and he had overcome. We can also understand why the evangelists in their brief records give so much space to it. Above all, we find new reasons for emphasizing this chapter in our Lord's life. It was the battle in which the whole future war with Satan was anticipatively fought and won.

THE PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

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To us today the highest value of our gospels is in the testimony they bring us concerning the deeds, words, and character of our Lord Jesus. The ideas and purpose of the author, and even his personal identity, are to us matters of secondary consideration. Nevertheless it is far more than idle curiosity that impels us to discover all that we can concerning the specific purpose with which our evangelists severally wrote. To gain their point of view and read their books, as it were, through their eyes will certainly make them more significant and instructive to us. It is the aim of this paper to give some help toward such a reading of the first gospel. It is a study of the gospel itself, with a view to discovering from its own testimony what its point of view, aim, and plan are. External testimony, which can be best considered after the gospel itself has been studied, is not here discussed. As subsidiary to the search for the purpose and plan of the book, the evidence concerning the writer and the readers for whom he wrote must be examined.

I. THE AUTHOR.

Tradition, oft-repeated and undisputed in ancient times, and certainly not wholly wrong or lightly to be set aside now, attributes our gospel to the publican-apostle Matthew. This, however, for reasons already intimated, cannot serve as a postulate or starting point of our present study. What we seek is rather the testimony of the gospel itself — which never names its author; the title is a later addition — concerning not the name or identity of the writer, but his characteristics and point of view.

1. *His nationality.*—Several classes of facts bear convergent

testimony indicating that the writer of the gospel is a Palestinian Jew.

a. Thus he shows himself familiar with the geography of Palestine. See, for example, 2 : 1, Bethlehem of Judea, distinguished from Bethlehem in the tribe of Zebulun; 2 : 23, "a city called Nazareth," a phrase which at first suggests that the place is unfamiliar to the writer and his readers, but is probably intended to call attention to the name and its relation to the reference about to be made to the Old Testament; 3 : 1, "the wilderness of Judea;"[1] 3 : 5, the circuit of the Jordan (*cf.* Gen. 13 : 10); 3 : 13, Galilee and the Jordan; 4 : 12, 13, Nazareth and Capernaum, and the relation of these to the ancient tribal boundaries; 4 : 23–25, Galilee and the lands adjacent; 8 : 5, 23, 28, the country of the Gadarenes[2] placed on the opposite side of the Sea of Galilee

[1] Some have found in this expression an inaccurate use of terms, perhaps betraying ignorance of the region. In Judg. 1 : 16 the wilderness of Judah is spoken of as being in the south of Arad. Arad is located by Robinson (*Bib. Res.*, II, 101) and others (*Dict. Bib.*) about sixteen miles south of Hebron. But in Josh. 15 : 61 f. Judah's territory is said to include "in the wilderness" Beth-arabah, Middin, and Secacah. Now Beth-arabah is also mentioned as belonging to Benjamin (Josh. 18 : 22), which indicates that the border between Judah and Benjamin ran through it. The exact site of Beth-arabah is unknown, but the location of the border line is approximately shown by being defined in Josh. 18 : 19 as drawn from the head of the Dead Sea, and as passing through Beth-hoglah, a town which is in the Jordan valley, about two miles north of the sea. This indicates that the wilderness of Judah extended as far north as the head of the Dead Sea, or a little further. But the region north of this was also desert (see Jos., *B. J.*, III, 10, 7, *fin.; cf.* IV, 8, 2; *cf.* also Mark 1 : 4, 5, which indicates that the Jordan ran through the wilderness), and when the boundary between Judah and Benjamin was no longer marked, and the territory of both tribes included in Judea, as was the case in New Testament times, it is very probable that the term wilderness of Judea would cover both the desolate region west of the Dead Sea and so much of the barren region north ot the sea as lay within Judea. It must be observed that Matthew does not necessarily include any portion of the Jordan valley in the wilderness of *Judea*. (*Cf.* 3 : 1, 5, 6.) His language would be consistent with an intention to represent John's preaching as beginning in the wilderness of Judea, and as being transferred to the Jordan valley when he began to baptize (*cf.* again Mark 1 : 4, 5, which uses the term wilderness without the addition of Judea). But it is, perhaps, more probable that he intended the term wilderness of Judea to cover both regions.

[2] The phenomena presented by Matt. 8 : 28 and the parallel passages, Mark 5 : 1; Luke 8 : 26, have not been explained in a wholly satisfactory way. In each of the gospels there is manuscript authority for all three readings — Gadarenes, Gerasenes, Gergesenes. The revisers follow Westcott and Hort in adopting Gadarenes in

from Capernaum; 14:34, Gennesaret on the Sea of Galilee; 15:21, Tyre and Sidon; 15:39, Magadan, though this cannot be certainly identified today; 16:13; 17:1, Cæsarea Philippi, and the high mountain in that vicinity; 19:1, Judea beyond Jordan; 20:29, Jericho; 21:1, Bethphage (not certainly identified), and the Mount of Olives (*cf.* 24:3) near Jerusalem; 21:17; 26:6, Bethany. It must be remembered, of course, that these references may be in part derived from a documentary source employed by the writer — many of them are found also in Mark — and that all of them are possible to one who was not himself a Palestinian; yet as part of a cumulative argument they are not without value.

b. The author is familiar with Jewish history, customs, and classes of people, and with Jewish ideas. Thus in 1:18f. he shows his acquaintance with the fact that betrothal could be annulled only by divorce; 2:4, with the position of the scribes, as those to whom a question about the doctrine of the Messiah would be referred; 2:1, with the reign of Herod the Great;

Matthew, Gerasenes in Mark, and Gerasenes (marg. Gergesenes, with Tisch.) in Luke. The conditions of the narrative are fulfilled on the eastern shore, near a town called Khersa or Gersa, situated on the left bank of the Wady Semakh; the ancient name of this town may have been Gergesa (*Origen*, IV, 140, apparently referring to this site, gives Gergesa as the name), or possibly Gerasa (the frequency of the name Jerash today — CONDER in *Dict. Bib.*, Rev. Eng. Ed., I, 1162 — suggests that Gerasa was a common name in ancient times). It is doubtless to this place that the names Gerasenes and Gergesenes refer; the former can in any case scarcely refer to the well-known Gerasa, thirty-five miles distant from the lake. The reading Gadarenes, it should be observed, does not involve the statement that the event took place at Gadara, which, lying six miles from the lake and south of the Jarmuk, is an impossible site, but in the country of the Gadarenes, *i. e.*, in the district attached to Gadara. This district, called Gadaritis by Josephus (*B. J.*, III, 10, 10; *cf.* III, 3, 1), is proved by coins to have extended to the Sea of Galilee (SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. I, p. 104), but does not seem to have included the site of Khersa, since Hippos with its district lies between them (*Pal. Exp. Fund Quarterly*, 1887, pp. 36ff.; SMITH, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 459). If, therefore, Matthew wrote Gadarenes, it must have been either with the intention of assigning the event to the southeastern shore of the sea, where, however, there is said to be no site fulfilling the conditions (WILSON in *Dict. Bib.*, Rev. Eng. Ed., I, 1099), or as a loose and general designation of the country along the southern half of the eastern shore, although the particular site belonged to the district of Hippos or to Gaulanitis, rather than to Gadaritis. In either case the reading Gadarenes, while it may indicate ignorance of the exact location of the event, shows at least general acquaintance with the geography of the region adjacent to the Sea of Galilee.

2 : 22, with the fact that Archelaus succeeded him in Judea, but not in Galilee, and with the reputation of Archelaus for cruelty;[3] 14 : 1, with the title of Herod Antipas, tetrarch[4] of Galilee; 26 : 3, 57, with the name of the high priest; 26 : 59, with the existence and character of the Sanhedrin; 27 : 2, 11, 13, with the relation of the Jewish to the Roman authorities, and with the name of the Roman procurator. Here, also, though no single item of the evidence is decisive, the whole is not without significance.

c. The writer is familiar with the Old Testament, and believes in it as a book containing divinely given prophecies. The first section of the book, with its title characterizing Christ as son of David and son of Abraham, and the genealogical table partly taken from the Old Testament, and designed to prove the descent of Jesus from David and Abraham, as in accordance with prophecy the Messiah must be, show both a familiarity with the Old Testament and a thoroughly Jewish way of looking at it. The structure of this table itself points in the same direction, showing that it is, to the writer, a matter of interest, if not also of argument, that the generations from Abraham to Moses are (by virtue of slight omissions and double counting) divisible into three groups of fourteen (twice seven) generations, a fact which suggests that the Messiah appeared at an appropriate time, at the end of three periods, the culmination of each of the two preceding of which had been marked by a great event of Jewish history. Throughout the gospel, but especially in the early and the later parts, he calls attention to passages of the Old Testament which he interprets as finding their fulfilment in events of Jesus' life (1 : 22 f.; 2 : 6, 15, 17 f., 23; 4 : 14–16; 8 : 17; 12 : 17–21; 13 : 35; 21 : 4 f.; 27 : 9). These

[3] There is a noticeable difference between Matthew's references to the political situation of Palestine and Luke's. Luke speaks with the air of painstaking investigation; Matthew with that of easy familiarity, all the more noteworthy that the frequent and somewhat complicated succession of rulers would have made error easy.

[4] Mark 6 : 14 is less exact, since Herod was not, strictly speaking, king.

In 14 : 3, it has been alleged, Matthew wrongly designates the brother of Herod whose wife he had married as Philip, whereas Philip was really the husband of Salome; but it is by no means certain that there is an error here. *Cf.* Mark 6 : 17 and commentaries on both passages.

eleven passages, most of them introduced by the formula, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken through the prophet," sometimes with the insertion of the phrase "by the Lord," are a marked feature of this gospel. They are a special contribution of this evangelist, having no parallel passages in Mark or Luke.[5] Nor, with the exception of Mark 1 : 2 and Luke 3 : 4 ff., parallel to Matt. 3 : 3, are there any similar passages in the other synoptic gospels. They show in the clearest way the author's special interest in the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament and in their fulfilment in Jesus; the conception of the Old Testament and the method of interpreting it which they reveal, though not impossible to a Gentile Christian as an acquisition from others, were certainly developed on Jewish soil. That we have, in this particular case, to do with a mind itself Jewish is placed almost beyond doubt by the fact that, though the quotations from the Old Testament which are common to our first three gospels, nearly all of which occur in the words of Jesus, show a predominant influence of the Greek version of the Old Testament, this group of eleven peculiar to the first evangelist clearly shows a predominant influence of the original Hebrew.

d. In various other ways the writer betrays his Jewish feeling and point of view. He employs descriptive names derived from the Old Testament which would be unnatural in the mouth of any but a Jew, and which are, in fact, found nowhere else in the New Testament, save in the case of one phrase in the book of Revelation. See 2 : 20, 21, land of Israel; 4 : 5; 27 : 53, holy city; 5 : 35, city of the great king; 10 : 6; 15 : 24, lost sheep of the house of Israel. He speaks of the half-shekel tax which every adult male Jew paid annually for the support of the temple (*cf.* Ex. 30 : 13–16), simply by the name of the coin that paid it, the two-drachma piece, following in this a usage probably common among the Jews.[6] His tone in speaking of Gentiles (5 : 47; 6 : 7; 6 : 32; 18 : 17) is decidedly Jewish, the name

[5] Nor in John, save that 21 : 4 f. is paralleled in John 12 : 14 f., and 8 : 17 partially in John 1 : 29. Matt. 4 : 16 has a partial parallel in Luke 1 : 79.

[6] Concerning the variation in the amount of the tax, see Ex. 30 : 13; Neh. 10 : 32; concerning the ratio of the shekel and the drachma, and the coins in use in New Tes-

Gentile being evidently with him not simply a designation of nationality, but a characterization nearly equivalent to our modern term "heathen." He is particularly interested in those teachings of Jesus which were of special significance to the Jew and the Jewish Christian. Thus it is in this gospel only that we have Jesus' word concerning the permanence of the law (5 : 17–19); the Sermon on the Mount as given here preserves the comparison of Jesus' teaching with that of the Pharisees, and, indirectly, with that of the Old Testament (chaps. 5—7), an element wholly absent from the similar discourse in Luke (6 : 20–49); this gospel alone tells us that the personal mission of Jesus and the work of his apostles on their first separate mission tour were limited to the Jews (10 : 6; 15 : 24); it gives special emphasis to Jesus' denunciation of the Pharisees (15 : 13; 21 : 28–32; chap. 23), and is our only authority for the most striking of his sayings concerning the impending doom of the nation (8 : 11, 12; 21 : 43; 22 : 7, are found only in Matt.; *cf.*, also, 12 : 38–45; 23 : 35, 36; 24 : 2, of which there are parallels in Mark or Luke, and 27 : 25, peculiar to Matt.). Here are elements which seem at first sight contradictory, but they all bespeak an author specially concerned with the relations of the gospel to Judaism.

2. *His religious position.*— Evident as it is that our evangelist is a Jew by nationality and education, it is still more clear that he is a Christian — a Jew who, holding the Messianic hope of his people and believing that there were Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament, finds that hope realized and those prophecies fulfilled in Jesus. Passages need hardly be cited. The first line of the gospel shows the author's position, and it appears throughout the book. The question whether he was also a Judaizing Christian believing in the permanent authority of the statute law of the Old Testament for both Jewish and Gentile Christian, or perhaps for the Jewish Christian but not for his Gentile brother, can be answered only on the basis of a study of the purpose of the book. (See § III.)

tament times, see MADDEN, *Coinage of the Jews*, pp. 290 f., 294; BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 193; SCHÜRER II, I, pp. 41, 250 f.; JOS., *Ant.*, III, 8. 2; XVIII, 8. 1.

II. THE READERS FOR WHOM THE BOOK WAS PRIMARILY INTENDED.

Much of the evidence bearing upon this question is derived from the same passages which have already been cited to show the nationality of the writer.

1. Not much stress can be laid on the writer's apparent assumption that his readers are familiar with Palestinian geography. The other gospels which on other grounds are shown to have been written specially for Gentiles apparently make the same assumption, or rather, perhaps, are equally unconcerned that their readers should understand their geographical references. There are even some passages in Matthew which seem to assume that his readers were not acquainted with the smaller Palestinian towns. In 2:23, indeed, the phrase "a city called Nazareth" is probably used simply to call attention to the name in anticipation of the next sentence, and in 4:13 a similar motive leads to the mention of the location of Capernaum; but the placing of the healing of the demoniacs in the country of the Gadarenes, if this be the correct reading, seems to imply that he could not assume that his readers would be acquainted with the little town Khersa, and, therefore, located the event more generally in the *country* of the Gadarenes, or else that he himself was unacquainted with the smaller place (*cf.* note 2). Beyond this the geographical evidence is purely negative.

2. Though a general acquaintance with Jewish customs and institutions on the part of the reader is assumed in all of the gospels, and hence does not of itself point to Jewish readers, yet the extent of this in the first gospel is worthy of notice. Compare, for example, Matthew's references to the Jewish rulers (2:1, 22; 14:1) with Luke's (2:1, 2; 3:1, 2), or his unexplained mention of the Jewish custom of ceremonial cleansing (15:2) with Mark's detailed explanation (7:3, 4). The seeming exception in 27:15 is not properly such. The custom of releasing a prisoner at the passover season, not otherwise known to us, was probably not of Jewish but of Roman origin, and since the government of Judea had changed several times in the generation or more between the death of Jesus and the writ-

ing of the gospel, it is probable that the custom had so long ago ceased that even to Jews it was a matter of unfamiliar history.

3. The number of argumentative quotations from the Old Testament introduced by the writer, and the almost total absence of such quotations from Mark and Luke—John has more than Mark and Luke, but fewer than Matthew—suggest also Jewish readers. It is certainly not decisive evidence, since arguments from Scripture early became the common property of Christians, both Jewish and Gentile. The extent and prominence of the Scripture argument count for something, but the decisive word must be said on the basis of the *nature* of the argument which this gospel founds on its quotations. (See § III.)

4. The use of Jewish descriptive titles (see the passages cited under I, 1, *d*), the reporting of the words of Jesus which emphasize his mission to the Jews (10:5, 6; 15:24), and of other teachings which would be of special interest to Jews (11:14; 12:5, 6; 17:24; 23:16–22—all peculiar to this gospel), and the fact that the great discourses of Jesus, notably the Sermon on the Mount (chaps. 5—7), are reported in a form adapted to Jewish thinking, are of more decisive significance, and all indicate that the writer has in mind mainly Jewish readers. Still more significant, though here also the full significance will appear only in relation to the purpose of the book, are the passages referred to above which foreshadow the downfall of Judaism; (8:11, 12; 12:38–45; 21:43; 22:1–14; 23:35, 36; 24:2; 27:25). The use of the term Gentiles as a designation of religion rather than of nationality (5:47, etc.) suggests the same thing, but is shown by 1 Cor. 5:1; 10:20; 12:2, to be possible in a writing addressed directly to Gentile Christians; its occurrence, therefore, tends only to indicate that the book was not intended for non-Christian Gentiles. The use of the term Jews (28:15) in the way so common in the fourth gospel is not only a mark of the Christian point of view of the Jewish writer, but tends in some degree to indicate that he wrote for those who, though Jews in nationality, now distinguished themselves from the rest of the nation by their Christianity.

(To be completed in the February number.)

THE TRIUMPH OF THE INNOCENTS.

(See the frontispiece of this number.)

Holman Hunt is preëminently the painter of Protestantism. John Ruskin has called his "Triumph of the Innocents" the greatest religious picture of the century. Like other work of the artist, the picture is a decided departure from the conventional. It has been subjected to the widest range of varied criticism, and has not been popular, because misunderstood. To one it is "Browning translated into paint;" to another it seems a "dream full of real forms, lucid and beautiful, yet tremulous with mystical meaning."

The full title of the picture is "The Flight into Egypt and the Triumph of the Innocents." If the fact be borne in mind that it represents a vision of two worlds, the spiritual and the physical, seen at one glance, the deep significance of the artist's thought will be easier apprehended.

Combining the evangelist Matthew's account with an early tradition of the church, the artist has placed the incident in the second April of the young Christ's life, when he was sixteen months old. Joseph, sturdy of limb, with a well-filled tool basket slung over his shoulder, gazes back anxiously at the watch fires of Herod that burn on the distant hills. He is leading an ass of the royal Mecca breed, bearing the Child and mother, who looks down upon him with the divinest of all human love as he leans back against her caressingly. Something in his manner is strangely reassuring. Her mother heart, until then heavy with fear, responds to his buoyant joyousness, and in turn illumines her face as with a burst of sunshine after the blackness of storm. The glorified spirits of the murdered children of Bethlehem, a happy garlanded band, the "flowers of the martyrs," and first of that glorious company whose shining ranks are nearest the throne of the Slain One, have come to accompany Jesus in the flight. He has just caught sight of his martyred playmates, visible to him only, and turns with radiant greeting, holding towards them a handful of wheat ears typical of the Bread of Life.

This is the picture within the picture which makes the conception a "stereoscopic vision of two worlds."

One great charm of the painting is in the grouping and beauty of these heavenly children, whose heads alone of all the company scintillate with the brightness of glorified existence. The different groups represent advancing stages of the life beyond. In the sky of the background are three little ones, who have not yet awakened to the joy of heaven. Their faces still bear the marks of sleep and grief, and shadowy halos hover over them. The middle group is wreathed with scarlet anemonies as victims of sacrifice, and with blossoming branches in their hands are merrily urging forward the loitering foal. The foremost young saint looks down upon the rent made in his garment by the sword thrust and, wondering, finds no scar upon his new flesh. The trio leading are realizing the fuller significance of their happiness and privilege. One sings as he raises a smoking censer in token of worship, and the others are casting down before the Child King branches of the palm and vine, significant of victory and fruitful service.

These celestial children, in the exuberance of heaven's own haleness, dance along upon a dream stream that flows side by side with the real water reflecting the stars, and into which Joseph is stepping. It represents the river of life, and its vapors float away in the form of silvery bubbles, upon which are reflected scenes from that reign of holiness which He who now rides triumphant as King of hearts in the royal beauty of his childhood shall inaugurate.

JOHN POWELL LENOX.

SERMON OUTLINES.

Col. 1 : 12–14 :

> "Giving thanks unto the Father,
> Who made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light;
> Who delivered us out of the power of darkness,
> And translated us into the kingdom of the Son of his love;
> In whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins."

Introduction : Even to a Christian the question sometimes arises: "What have I to be thankful for?" By taking thought, a multitude of gifts of God's "common providence" will come into mind, some of them at special seasons. But the richer blessings of God's grace are a perennial cause of gratitude, even in the absence or eclipse of other divine gifts.

Theme: GROUNDS FOR A CHRISTIAN'S THANKFULNESS TO GOD.

I. *We are appointed heirs.*—God has given us ability or fitness with reference to sharing in the lot of the saints in light, *i. e.*, to have part and lot with those who are called to a life of holiness, in the white light of truth which fears no searchlight of judgment.

II. *We are delivered.*—Set free from the power of darkness. It was a real power, of a kingdom really existing, in antagonism and opposition to God's kingdom of light and holiness. The gospel of Christ found us in Satan's grip in this kingdom of darkness and set us free.

III. *We are naturalized.*—"Translated us into the kingdom of the Son of his love." What a mark of honor and distinction! We are brought over into a state not ours by nature or by right—made citizens of the kingdom of God's well-beloved son!

IV. *In him we have redemption and forgiveness.*—We are redeemed, not only from the punishment of sin, but from the guilt of it, for Christ has made expiation for us. In suffering for us he bore to the uttermost the sense of God's just displeasure toward sin.

This atoning work of Christ alone made forgiveness possible through faith. Man must, but only God could, render this expiation. The God-man, whose glorious work this is, is set forth in his majesty in this chapter and the next. Thus there are infinite grounds for gratitude.

EXEGETICAL CRITICISM.

It is not clear of what the preacher judges that "we are appointed heirs." Does he understand "light" to refer to the holiness and bliss of the world to come, which we shall hereafter inherit, or to the holy life in which we are now to participate? In the former case, "light" should be more sharply defined; in the latter case, the phrase "appointed heirs" is misleading and had better be avoided. If he understands the word "light" to be a moral term which makes no distinction between life now and life hereafter, the word "heirs" (which involves a rather free paraphrase of the Greek) ought to be avoided or carefully defined.

Proposition IV, in its reference to expiation, goes beyond the meaning of this sentence or its necessary implications. If the preacher intends here to depart from the exposition of his text and enter upon the discussion of the grounds of forgiveness, it would be well at least to indicate the other Scripture of which he intends to make use. Would it not be as well, with so ample and rich a passage as this, to confine the discourse to the text?

E. D. BURTON.

HOMILETICAL CRITICISM.

This sermon can hardly be called expository. It should be classified as a text sermon. The theme is not stated definitely, since any grounds for thankfulness are grounds for a Christian's thankfulness. It would be better to say, "The Chief Grounds for a Christian's Thankfulness." The principal phrases of the text are used skilfully as a basis for the four divisions of the sermon, and hence the plan, on the whole, is a good one. There are two respects, however, in which it might be improved. First, the four divisions are not sufficiently jointed together; they do not appear to be members of a body united by a vital force common to them all; and, as a result, they suggest four sermonettes, rather than a sermon. Greater organic unity might be secured by recapitulating them in the closing part of the sermon, and showing the intimate relation of each to all the others. Secondly, the plan does not make progress from cause to effect, or from the doctrinal to the emotional and the practical. The text is one which might well be taken in reverse order as follows: (1) Our redemption in Christ; (2) this the cause of our translation into his kingdom; (3) of our deliverance from the power of darkness, and (4) of our appointment to be heirs of all things. The sermon would thus secure unity, and the proper rhetorical movement towards the emotional and the practical.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

MATERIAL FROM ENGLISH LITERATURE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS.

PRAYER. THE BEATITUDES. TEMPTATION.

By Professor Myra Reynolds, Ph.D.,
The University of Chicago.

An influence always to be reckoned with in any study of the development of English literature, whether as to style or theme, is the English translation of the Bible. Great masters of style have been especially sensitive to the power and the beauty of Scripture phraseology, story, and symbol. Matthew Arnold tells us that Goethe was so constant a reader of the Bible that his free-thinking friends reproached him with wasting his time over it. Matthew Arnold himself read the Testaments, both Old and New, with such closeness that his own style is strongly biblical in turns of expression and in figures and allusions. One can hardly read Charles Lamb with full appreciation whose own mind is not stored with the phrases and narratives of the Bible. Dr. Van Dyke has shown in his chapter on "The Bible in Tennyson" how intimately this great poet brooded over the very words of Scripture. Milton, Dryden, Wordsworth, Coleridge, De Quincey, Shelley, Browning, and many other masters of English, have owed a similar literary debt to the Bible as an important factor in the development of their style, whether in prose or verse.

But our literature shows, not only how biblical phrases and figures have woven themselves inextricably into the very texture of our forms of speech, but especially how the themes and the spirit of the Bible speak themselves anew through the great works of human genius. In poem, satire, essay, and story we find the Bible thought illustrated, put into concrete shape, modernized in form and setting, but unchanged in essential significance. Through new channels the old truth steals insensibly into minds to which the Bible is a sealed book, and comes with added force and clearness to those already familiar with its teachings.

The purpose of the quotations and references to be given from time to time in this portion of the Biblical World is to make available some of the many literary presentations of the central themes in each month's Bible work, or, at least, of such of these themes as have found fullest and most adequate response in literature. To the brief suggestions given here large additions could be made from the reading of each teacher. The value of such work

rests on the fact that it is always a stimulating and liberalizing influence to discover how life itself, or any theory about life, has presented itself to men and women of large intelligence and deep emotional experience. Their embodiment of any theme gives us first the facts of life as seen by an expert in the study of man, and also the theory by which he interprets these facts and traces them to an issue. As we follow a single thought from mind to mind, it gains color, point, definiteness; it becomes rich, human, alive. We have not in this process forsaken the Bible for literature. The Bible has simply gone out through literature and found its own. What the Bible has itself inspired is used to bring home to men what the Bible directly teaches.

The following quotations refer particularly to three of the themes in the January lessons, "Temptation," "Blessedness," "Prayer."

I. *Prayer.*—In Tennyson's "Passing of Arthur" the one note of hope in the king's last sad words is in the passage on prayer:

> More things are wrought by prayer
> Than this world dreams of. Wherefore, let thy voice
> Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
> For what are men better than sheep or goats
> That nourish a blind life within the brain,
> If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
> Both for themselves and those who call them friends?
> For so the whole round earth is everyway
> Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.

In "The Higher Pantheism" is the stanza:

> Speak to Him, thou, for He hears, and spirit with spirit can meet—
> Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.

Note how Enoch Arden, alone on "the beauteous hateful isle" would have died of solitude had he not

> Spoken with That which, being everywhere,
> Lets none, who speaks with Him, seem all alone.

See also the significant line in "In Memoriam":

> Thrice blest whose lives are faithful prayer.

Cf. Fenelon's saying:

> The best of all prayers is to act with a pure intention, and with a continual reference to the will of God.

Note in Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner" (*a*) Part 4, st. 6. With scorn and envy in his heart the Mariner could not pray. (*b*) Love the condition of effective prayer.

> He prayeth well, who loveth well
> Both man and bird and beast.
> He prayeth best who loveth best
> All things, both great and small;
> For the dear God who loveth us,
> He made and loveth all.

In Browning's "Saul" David reaches the climax of faith when he recognizes that in God is all-power and all-willingness to fulfil man's noblest aspirations of helpfulness, and that God can answer prayer even while it is being uttered. See also Browning's "The Boy and the Angel" as illustrative of the value of the cheerful, humble heart lifted daily to God in a song of praise.

Note Wordsworth's prayer for the Solitary in "The Excursion," Bk. 4:

> Sustain, thou only canst, the sick of heart.

Also his characterization of the power of prayer:

> A stream which, from the fountain of the heart
> Issuing, however feebly, nowhere flows
> Without access of unexpected strength.

For a beautiful symbolic story concerning prayer, see Longfellow's "Sandolphin." *Cf.* also "Milton's Prayer of Patience," by Elizabeth Howell, Sill's "The Fool's Prayer," and especially W. D. Howell's "Thanksgiving":

> Lord, for the erring thought
> Not into evil wrought:
> Lord, for the wicked will
> Betrayed and baffled still:
> For the heart from itself kept,
> Our thanksgiving accept.
>
> For ignorant hopes that were
> Broken to our blind prayer:
> For pain, death, sorrow, sent
> Unto our chastisement:
> For all loss of seeming good,
> Quicken our gratitude.

II. *The Beatitudes.*—"Blessed is he to whom people go when they are in distress.

"Blessed is he around whom little children flock.

"Blessed is he upon whom grateful eyes look, saying, 'Come again—I am better for your coming.'

"Blessed is he whose eye is serene; whose voice is gentle; whose heart is sweet; whose life makes happiness."—*The L. A. S. Calendar.*

For illustrations of the blessedness of the pure in heart, see Una in Spenser's *Faerie Queene,* where wild beasts and the rough satyrs combine to protect the pure maiden. The hapless lady in Milton's *Comus* is preserved by her own "saintly chastity" from the terrors of the wood and from the necromancer's charms. In Coleridge's "Christabel" all the powers in heaven league themselves against the beautiful enchantress who would taint Christabel's soul. The story of Parsifal in Wagner's drama is another presentation of the way perfect purity of mind and heart walks unscathed through evil. In Tennyson's "The Holy Grail" it is the maiden whose "heart is pure as snow" that has the first vision of the Holy Cup so long banished by sin. Galahad's "strength was as the strength of ten because his heart was pure,"

and to him, likewise, was vouchsafed the vision of the cup face to face, but the other knights, Lancelot, Bors, and Percival, less pure in heart, caught but a dim and fleeting glimpse of the longed-for Holy Grail.

"Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you," finds illustration in *Quo Vadis*. See, also, Bacon's essay "Of Adversity":

> Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favor. . . . . Certainly, virtue is, like precious odors, most fragrant when they are incensed, or crushed; for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

Cf. Bryant's "Blessed are they that mourn."

III. *Temptation.*—"If you aspire to be the son of consolation—if you would partake of the priestly gift of sympathy—if you would pour something beyond commonplace consolation into a tempted heart—if you would pass through the intercourse of daily life with the delicate tact which never inflicts pain—you must be content to pay the price of the costly education. Like Him, you must suffer being tempted.—*F. W. Robertson.*

Temptations, whether resisted or yielded to, may be converted into stepping-stones to higher things. See "Ladder of St. Augustine," by Longfellow. *An Ill-Tempered Family*, a story by Mrs. Ewing, represents a successful struggle against what are usually termed the minor temptations of life. Tito Melema, in George Eliot's *Romola*, is a terrible picture of the gradual deterioration of character as a result of which the man yields impulsively but entirely to the first sharp temptation that comes. Godfrey Cass, in *Silas Marner*, is entangled in evil through his brother's wicked schemes and his own habit of good-humored, careless acquiescence. Without courage to face the consequences of his wrong-doing, he serves as a type of lives with high possibilities and but moderate attainment. Andrea del Sarto, in Browning's poem of that name, is another illustration of a life ruined by temptations yielded to, and afterwards regretted, but not repented of. The Ancient Mariner is an illustration of a soul that sins, learns to see his sin in all its blackness, turns from it, and, though at the cost of terrible suffering, enters finally upon a deep, rich spiritual life.

The Council of Seventy.

Professor James S. Riggs will give, in connection with a course of lectures under the direction of the Young Men's Christian Association of Albany, N. Y., a lecture upon "The Battle over the New Testament," at what points it is now on, and what has been won. Professor Riggs is also devoting much time to the apocalypse, believing that the book has been pushed off the minister's study table by false methods of interpretation.

Professor Edward I. Bosworth, of Oberlin, O., is giving, in addition to his regular seminary work, a twenty-hour course in the teaching of Jesus every Tuesday evening before the Cleveland Young Men's Christian Association. This is the third year he has carried on such work there. He will also conduct, this winter, ten studies in the life and teaching of Jesus in the Elyria Congregational Church.

Professor F. K. Sanders, of Yale University, is giving a course of ten lectures in Messianic prophecy under the auspices of the King's Daughters of Stamford, Conn. About one hundred and fifty persons are attending these lectures. Professor Sanders is also lecturing on Old Testament history at Vassar College every Sunday evening, and is conducting a weekly class in Old Testament literature in New Haven. The latter class is under the auspices, though outside, of Yale University, and is composed of fifteen teachers.

Professor Thomas F. Day, of the San Francisco Theological Seminary, is to give before the Students' Bible Class of the First Congregational Church of Berkeley two lectures on the apocalyptic literature (Daniel and the Revelation), and a third lecture, on the foregleams of the incarnation, in an extension course in San Francisco.

President George S. Burroughs, of Wabash College, is preparing a new translation of the book of Amos and expects to publish it the coming year. The work is prepared from a literary and historical point of view, and will contain an introduction, notes, and discussions of the most important points. It is designed primarily for a biblical classic for private use and for secular schools and colleges.

The following are the results of the prize examinations conducted by the Institute in March, 1896. The candidates represented fifty-eight colleges, one hundred and nineteen taking the examination in New Testament Greek and sixty in the English Bible. Many of the papers showed that some excellent teaching of the Bible is in progress in the college world. The first prize in New Testament Greek is awarded to Mr. Fred T. Tapscott, McMaster University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, and the second prize to Mr. Arthur William Ryder, of Harvard University.

Both of the prizes in the English Bible are awarded to Yale University, the first to Mr. Edgar L. Hermance, and the second to Mr. Murray S. Howland, both members of the class of '97. The next examinations will take place in March, 1899.

The editorials in this number of the BIBLICAL WORLD discuss the fundamental principles upon which Sunday-school teaching should be based. These principles are such as can be carried into the home department of a school in a forceful way. Here almost more than in the main school, however, the need of good material for study is essential — first because of the absence of a teacher, and, second, because the study period may be extended according to the pleasure and convenience of the student. The Institute has arranged a scheme of courses on the life of Christ (the topic of the International Lessons for 1898), which will accommodate itself to the home student, whether he is able to devote much or little time to his study. These courses, widely introduced, would give a fine foundation and great incentive to Bible study in the home, and the influence would be felt in the continual transfer of students from the home study department to the regular school.

Work and Workers.

NOTICE—The editors of the BIBLICAL WORLD have in type an article entitled "The Origin and Character of Deuteronomy," from which the author's name has in some way become detached. They would be greatly obliged if the author of the paper would communicate with them, that it may be published.

FATHER BRAYTON, a Baptist missionary in Burma sixty years, is translating the Bible into Po-Karen.

The International Sunday-School Lessons for 1898 are in Matthew for the first half of the year, and in Hebrew history, from the division of the kingdom to the captivity of Judah, for the second half.

DR. GEORGE R. BERRY, of Colgate University, has just issued Vol. I, covering Genesis and Exodus, of his *Hebrew Interlinear Old Testament*, accompanied by both the authorized and revised versions.

THE cable dispatches announce the death in London, at the age of eighty-two, of Rev. Professor James Legge, D.D., LL.D., whose contributions on China and its religions have so greatly enriched our knowledge of the orientals.

PROFESSOR W. H. BENNETT has retold the story of the Old Testament, and Professor W. F. Adeney, the story of the New Testament, for young people, in a 5s. 6d. volume entitled *The Bible Story*, published by James Clarke & Co., London.

DR. ISODORE SINGER, of New York, announces the collaboration and publication of no less a work than an *Encyclopædia of the History and Mental Evolution of the Jewish Race*, in twelve volumes, quarto, of 1000 pages each, with about 2000 illustrations.

THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY has reached a point where the falling off of its income has compelled it to offer for sale its property in New York city. It has also called Rev. Marcellus Brown, now agent of the Levant, to urge the claims of the society for its foreign work on its American friends.

THREE FAMOUS MADONNAS in *McClure's Magazine* for December gives us three full-page half-tone reproductions of the charming paintings of Perugino, of Botticelli, and of Raphael.

REV. WM. H. SLOAN, a Baptist missionary in the City of Mexico, has recently completed a full concordance to the Bible, in the Spanish language. It is the first work of the kind ever prepared in Spanish. Mr. Sloan has accomplished this work in addition to preaching to three congregations and publishing a paper.

IN A recent number of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* we find adjacent to one another in the bibliography of new works German translations of two books which interest quite different schools: the first was W. H. Green's *Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* and the other T. K. Cheyne's *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah.*

IT MAY not be without interest to those interested in theological literature to notice that the Fleming H. Revell Company has just completed its twenty-fifth year. The success of this company is a testimony, not alone to the character of its publications, but also to the growing interest in the line of literature to which it devotes itself.

THE American Tract Society has published a new edition of Häusser's *Period of the Reformation.* Just why it is called a new edition is difficult to say, for so far as we can discover it is exactly like another edition which has been on the market for a number of years, and the translator's preface is dated June, 1873. Nevertheless, it is an admirable book for the study of church history.

THE New York Bible Society is a hand-to-hand agency for reaching foreigners. During the year ending September 30, this society distributed in that city 60,424 Bibles and Testaments, in twenty-four different languages. These embraced, outside of the various European languages, the Chinese and Arabic. The missionaries of this society meet immigrants on landing, and supply them with the Scriptures in their own native tongue.

Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, D.D., Vol. IV, is reviewed in a recent number of *The Academy.* The reviewer rather justly criticises Dr. Liddon's successors in this arduous task for their lack of a judicial tone in their estimation of Dr. Pusey's career. This was not to be expected of Canon Liddon, one of Dr. Pusey's greatest admirers, but of all other things was to be expected in a calm, fair estimate by men of a later generation.

THE *American Journal of Archæology*, which has been edited by Professor Frothingham, of Princeton University, is to be succeeded by a journal called the "Second Series" of the former. This periodical will be the spokesman of the Archæological Institute of America, edited by two editors representing, respectively, the schools of classical studies at Athens and at Rome. The editor-in-chief is Professor John H. Wright, Cambridge, Mass.

Monumental Records is the name of a new monthly paper, the first number of which has just appeared in New York city. According to announcements, it will attempt to present to the reading public the chiefest results of archæological research in all parts of the earth. It also promises to present scholarly reports and articles superbly illustrated on the chief explorations of the present day. Its subscription price is $1.50 a year (Monumental Records Pub. Co., 220 Broadway).

WILBERT W. WHITE, PH.D., formerly professor in the Moody Institute of Chicago, is meeting with large success as director of Bible study in the College Young Men's Christian Association of Calcutta, India. On the 16th of last July a large, commodious, and beautiful building was opened at 86 College street, Calcutta. The annual report for 1897, just issued, gives a history of the college department of the Y. M. C. A., and sketches the plans according to which the work is at present conducted. Dr. White has shown great skill in his New Testament studies, issued in the form of charts and drawings of the principal New Testament books.

THE GRÆCO-ROMAN BRANCH of the Egypt Exploration Fund is the name of the new department of the fund which proposes to publish some of the chief "finds" in the papyri discovered at Behnesa (the site of Oxyrhynchus, a capital city). These will be facsimile reproductions and translations of some of the most valuable manuscripts. The first annual volume will consist of about 300 quarto pages. It will include, among other things, a fragment of the second or third century, containing most of the first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel; a leaf containing the Acts of St. Paul and Thecla; fragments of Sophocles' *Œdipus Tyrannus*, of Plato's *Republic*, of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, of Isocrates and Demosthenes, and of a lost comedy—about fifty lines. All donors of not less than five dollars will receive this annual volume, the archæological report (illustrated), and the annual report. The honorary secretary for America is Dr. W. C. Winslow, Boston, Mass.

Book Reviews.

The Story of Jesus Christ. An Interpretation. By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1897. Pp. xi + 413, crown 8vo. $2.

Several months since an editorial in the BIBLICAL WORLD called attention to the desirability of a life of Christ in which the biographical element should be prominent, and which possibly might contain something of the dramatic qualities of a novel. We have in this book of Mrs. Ward's such a life. Indeed, its author disclaims for it even the character of a biography and calls it simply "a narrative," based, indeed, on the investigations of scholars, but at the utmost a narrative and to be received as such "by those who understand the laws of narrative expression."

If, without claiming any full right to such procedure, one attempts to judge the book in accordance with these criteria and for the moment to disregard all others, the verdict must be favorable. By omitting many of the details given in the gospels, and by virtue of the author's direct and (if the word be not too pedantic) categorical sentences, the narrative gains remarkable movement and permits dramatic incidents to be thoroughly exploited. Few readers will soon forget the description of the resurrection of Lazarus, or of the marriage at Cana—somewhat over-elaborated though it is. By the same standard, also, one must praise the selection of incidents. It is true that one misses much of the teaching of Jesus in the account of his ministry in Galilee, and is hardly satisfied with the substitution of dotted lines for the sayings of the last chapters of John. Yet to insert long passages from Jesus' teaching would have been to break the narrative and the dramatic interest, and what is lost in completeness is gained in impression.

It is not to be understood that the volume is a piece of religious fiction. It is an interpretation of the personality of Jesus through the method of fiction. The distinction is great. We have plenty of novels in which Jesus figures with greater or less prominence in the midst of a story and literary setting wholly imaginary, and we have also many

interpretations of his life made with the method of the exegete or the preacher or the theologian. It is quite legitimate to combine the two sorts of methods and against a not too prominent background of archæology and on the basis of the facts of the gospels to make an interpretation of the character of Jesus stand out clearly, not by description, but by action. At any rate, this was to a considerable degree the method of Mark. And it cannot be denied that such a self-interpreting translation of the facts of Jesus' life has been singularly missing. For such a method demands rather rare prerequisites. Few learned men have the literary skill and point of view of the novelist, and few persons trained as writers of stories have sufficient accurate knowledge of the times and the facts of the New Testament.

Has Mrs. Ward met this twofold requirement? That she has the gift for creative literary work and that she has the selective instinct of the story-teller goes without saying. To be read by a generation of sons as eagerly as by the generation of their fathers (and mothers) is no deceptive test. It is also true that Mrs. Ward has by heredity and by training the deep spiritual sympathies and intuitions that are especially needed by any person who essays an interpretation of the character of Jesus. That she has enough knowledge of New Testament times and geography to answer her purposes—though one would hardly want to stand sponsor for all of the archæology and gets sadly confused in following some of the geography—is also probably true. The book is not learned, but it hardly needs to be. It can afford to treat historical details as Macaulay said he read the classics, "as a gentleman." And in the combination of archæological data with the imagined action which is intended to explain the words of the gospel, because presupposed by them, Mrs. Ward has been at times singularly successful. A notable instance of such success is in the story of the feast in Bethany. Sometimes, it should be added, however, this habit of the novelist of finding explanations for events in single dramatic situations shows to disadvantage, as in the referring of the determination of the authorities to kill Jesus to the resurrection of Lazarus. In a novel nothing would be more in accord with a dramatic approach to a *dénouement*, but in the life of Jesus, as we take it from the sources, nothing is less the fundamental ground for Pharisaic enmity.

In one particular the present volume is especially successful—in the interpretation of women's words and acts. Sometimes Mrs. Ward comes dangerously near the abyss of a romance *à la* Renan, for it is hard to write as a novelist without a heroine, but her spiritual balance

invariably comes to her rescue. And in the account of the events leading up to the birth of Jesus this feminine sympathy—so impossible for a man to possess—has given us what is by all means the strongest portion of the book. Nothing could be finer than the swift touch that shows what a man would be likely never to think of—the complete reinstatement of Mary in the confidence of her simple-hearted husband after the birth of her son. The same womanly intuition helps one also to a new insight into the heart of Mary Magdalene and the other women who followed Jesus.

This same quality of the interpreter also explains the most striking characteristic of the book as an interpretation. The Christ we have before us is not the divine, incomprehensively heroic Frenchman of Renan, or the commonplace altar-piece of Geikie, or the archæological Messiah of the pious Edersheim. He is an introspective, ambitious, depressed, and at times almost hysterical woman! His strength, his doubts and ambitions, his struggles with himself, his weakness, his faintings, his sufferings are not those of a man. Occasionally, as in the scenes before the betrayal, such an interpretation is helpful as a complement to the less subtle reading of his character by men. Yet one cannot help feeling that generally it fails to give us the steady, self-mastering elements in the character of Jesus. He may be a strong woman of the intellectual, nervously spiritual type, but he is not a strong man. He is feminine, not virile—a heroine rather than a hero.

Just what an opinion such an interpretation should lead one to have of the book as a whole it is hard to see while one is still in the grasp of the narrative's literary power and religious fervor. But one is inclined to say that it is far from fatal to the book's influence for good. For while one regrets that Mrs. Ward has not approached many matters from a standpoint of criticism rather than that of the older rationalism (as in the case of the dove at the baptism), and while one is tempted to detect traces of haste (if not something occasionally akin to unwillingness) in grappling with difficulties, and while at times one regrets the occasional presence of a somewhat turgid element in the treatment of matters appealing to the emotions, it must nevertheless be said that she has given us an unconventional, stimulating book which, with all its refusal to be classed among works of scholars and its feminine quality, will be found suggestive for the student in his recombining the results of scholarship and in bringing men's minds and hearts straight to the Master. And thus the ambition of the

preface is in a measure to be fulfilled: "I felt [after a day of study] as if I had made a new, a supreme acquaintance. I pass over this feeling to those who can understand it, or who may share it; and wish it, from my heart, for those who do not." S. M.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. *The Books of Joel and Amos*, with Introduction and Notes. By REV. S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the Univerversity of Oxford. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company., 1897. Pp. 244, 16mo. Cloth, $1, *net.*

In this volume Dr. Driver has furnished commentaries which must rank with the best in the "Cambridge Bible Series," and he has attained to an extraordinary degree the objects aimed at in the series by the syndics of the University Press of Cambridge. The amount of information toward the elucidation and illustration of the two prophets here compressed into 244 pages is truly remarkable, and the author's learning is manifest throughout the 58 pages of introduction and the 171 pages of text and notes.

Students of Driver's *Introduction* will find that the author's views of the prophecy of Joel have sustained no substantial change—the conclusions there stated being simply reinforced and elaborated—but he has presented a new section on the interpretation of the prophecies, one of the most satisfactory parts of the book. In this he takes the position that the scourge of locusts mentioned in the first chapter was one from which the people had actually suffered, and that this suggested to the prophet the still more formidable swarms of the second chapter, which the prophet imagines as the immediate precursors of Jehovah's day. For the literal explanation of these locusts, he rightly refers to 2:4*b*, 5, 7, where, as he says, "the locusts are themselves compared to a body of warriors," and he quotes from W. R. Smith (*Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 9, art. Joel, p. 706) the words "the poetical hyperbole which compares the invading swarms to an army would be inconceivably lame, if a literal army was already concealed under the figure of the locusts." Driver finds the central thought of the prophecy in "the idea of the day of Jehovah which is suggested to the prophet by the drought and the visitation of locusts," and this day of Jehovah he agrees with W. R. Smith, A. B. Davidson, and others in defining as "the day when Jehovah interposes in the history of the world . . . .

destroying wickedness and illusion, and confirming righteousness and truth, bringing terror to His enemies, but joy to His faithful servants," accomplishing the ideal triumph of right over wrong often predicted by the prophets and which had not yet been realized. According to the author, the chief difference between Joel and his predecessors lies in the emphasis that Joel throws on "the distinction between Israel and the nations," rather than between "the righteous and the wicked in Israel itself," an emphasis which in Joel led to no real extravagance, though made the occasion, perhaps, for the later "particularistic" notion of the Jews, and itself but a partial representation of the mind of God in respect to the nations.

In the introduction to Amos are sections practically new on the "characteristic teaching of Amos" and on "some literary aspects of Amos's book." In the first the writer calls attention to the emphasis placed by Amos on moral standards of living as applicable to Israel no less than to the rest of mankind, and in the second, with some little reservation, he is inclined to reject the conclusions of Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, and some others of the best interpreters of Amos, when they question the *genuineness* of portions of the prophecy. In respect to alleged corruptions of the text a similar caution is maintained. It will be remembered that some years ago Professor Driver was criticised somewhat severely in this country for his supposed indorsement of radical conclusions respecting the criticism of the Old Testament. Even then it was well understood by many scholars that he was naturally inclined to conservative views, and it was said openly in England that he should have made greater concessions to the positions of the advanced critical school. In his treatment of Amos Dr. Driver has certainly shown anything but an inclination to radicalism, and his careful, judicial temper is seen at its best in this work of his.

In the exposition are set forth in compact form the established results of modern scholarship, or the precise nature of the uncertainty, in cases where opinions are still divided. Illustrations might be taken from almost every page, but let it suffice to instance, in addition to the valuable geographical notes throughout the volume, the remarks on *locusts*, and the devastation wrought by them (pp. 36, 38, 39, 82–91), *wine* (pp. 41, 62, 79, 224), *winds* and *rain* (pp. 61, 62, 179, 170), *implements of peace* and *war* (pp. 73, 74), *threshing-board* (pp. 130, 227, 228), *tithes* (pp. 166, 167), *mourning customs* (pp. 183, 184, 232–4), *offerings* (pp. 186, 187), *musical instruments* (pp. 234–6), *Jehovah of hosts* (pp. 231, 232), *Virgin of Israel* (pp. 175, 176), *Torah* (pp. 230,

231), *Nazirites* (pp. 152, 153), *slave dealing* (p. 71), *Return to God* (pp. 54, 168), *spiritual gifts* (pp. 64, 65), *visions* (pp. 126, 200, 201).

The book here reviewed will be a very convenient register of the best opinions upon Joel and Amos, and upon the production of it both author and publishers are to be congratulated.

CHARLES RUFUS BROWN.

THE NEWTON THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION.

Primeval Revelation, Studies in Gen. I–VIII. By J. CYNDDYLAN JONES, D.D. New York: American Tract Society, 1897. Pp. xiii+366, 8vo.

In his preface the author frankly avows his intention "to interpret these chapters on the traditional hypothesis." He is unable, however, to ignore the fact that there are divergent theories, and, accordingly, he devotes his introduction to a discussion of the "Pentateuch and Criticism."

He begins by depreciating technical, exegetical science as less adapted to bring out the meaning of a passage than "poetic imagination." It must be a comfort to him to believe that such learning is an encumbrance to the expositor, for he does not possess it. Although he is sure that "the critics" are wrong, he has no clear conception of their aim, method, or results. He apparently has not read even the recent German literature on Old Testament criticism, much less the Dutch. The only works, cited are those of de Wette, Rosenmüller, and other critics of the beginning of the century, together with a few modern books that have chanced to be translated. The important recent works on Semitic cosmology by Jensen and Gunkel seem to be unknown. On p. 159 "*amuthig*" (*anmuthig?*), meaning "pleasant, agreeable," is declared to be an Ethiopic word from which "a few rationalists" derive the name Adam! A reading of this book leaves it an open question whether its author knows even Hebrew otherwise than at second hand. On p. 3 we are told that "heart" in the language of the Old Testament is used in contrast to the intellectual faculties. On p. 26 *hōō* (*sic*) and *na'ar* used as feminines are pronounced "archaisms." On p. 147 it is inferred from the plural *hayyim* that "plurality of lives is here ascribed to man."

After this general depreciation of the method by which the critics reach their conclusions the author adduces three *a priori* arguments against their theories: first, that criticism is essentially destructive; second, that the "higher critics" have no right to arrogate to them-

selves that they "surpass all others in scholarship, ability, and insight;" third, that the critics are disbelievers in the supernatural: all of which shows only how little the author understands what higher criticism is.

Having settled in advance from the character of the critics that their theories cannot be true, Dr. Jones thinks that it is now safe to let us know what these theories are. "In order to do the higher critics full justice," he says, "I will here quote the language of the learned and venerable Bishop of Bath and Wells." (Would it not be quite as fair to let the critics speak for themselves?) Learned and venerable as the bishop may be, he is not aware that the first Elohist is the same as P, that P^1 is the same as the Holiness Code, that Q is only a part of P, and that the book of the Covenant does not belong to P. The critical theory as stated by the bishop our author rightly pronounces repugnant to common sense and universal experience.

After this introduction we can easily imagine what will follow in the body of the book. The plural *Elohim* in Gen. 1:1 and the plural "us" in v. 3 are indications of the doctrine of the Trinity. There are no contradictions between the Mosaic account of creation and geology or astronomy, or, if contradictions exist, science is uncertain and will some day change its mind. The evolution theory is destitute of evidence. Man was formed "not out of the ground, but out of the dust of the ground — a subtile distinction which carries with it a world of meaning." The "generations" of Genesis, including the "generations of the heavens," were not invented by Moses. "It is evident that they were transmitted from ancient times and sacredly preserved in the archives of the children of Israel." Eve was not made until some time after Adam, since "the improbability is great that God would throw the newly made creature into a state of unnecessary agitation and excitement." The questions are gravely discussed whether Eve was made out of a rib or out of the side of Adam, and whether or not the serpent originally walked erect.

L. B. Paton.

See p. 126

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

Eduard von Gebhardt

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME XI FEBRUARY, 1898 NUMBER 2

THE STUDY OF SCRIPTURAL GEOGRAPHY

IT is frequently said that in all attempts at an intelligent reading of one's Bible nothing is more difficult to attain than a sense of reality. So overlaid have all scriptural matters become with various strata of theology and religious comment that it is exceedingly difficult for most readers of the Bible to set matters in their actual connections. Generally it is the case that this sense of unreality is felt in connection with the historical background against which teachings and characters are to be thrown, but it is equally true that few persons are in the habit of studying the Bible with any thought of its geographical relations. Devotional reading is thought to have little use for a map, and the entire field of historical geography is relegated to professional students.

ALLEGORICAL GEOGRAPHY

As in the case of the blurring of historical relations, so here, too, the cause is evident. In a way that finds almost no parallel outside of the Sacred Mountain of the Japanese, the physical characteristics of Palestine have worked their way into the vocabulary of Christian experience. We should expect that the recollection of the rôle which their rivers and their mountains and valleys had played in their history would have made them in the eyes of the Hebrew poets the veritable representative and symbol of the experiences themselves. And since all of these experiences were traced back directly to Jehovah, it would be easy to see how, when the mountains and the hills and the valleys were

substituted for the experiences, they might at the same time come to stand for Jehovah's dealings with his people. Yet, singularly enough, this is by no means as common in the Old Testament itself as in Christian literature. The people who lived by the side of the Jordan saw in it a very real boundary, but between real fields. The religious poet of today, forgetting the fact that the Jordan is a stream with a traceable bed and a geological history, thinks of it only as a symbol of that river of death through which one must pass to reach a heavenly Promised Land. The same thing is true of Zion. By a sort of allegorizing process, that oriental town whose splendors at their best must have been small compared with those of many a modern city, but which was the stronghold of Jehovah's people, has come to mean the heaven above and all that is religious here on earth; while the desert has become sin; the Hivites, the Perrizites, and the Jebusites, temptations which the believer is to overcome; and Canaan, eternal salvation.

Dangers in such Allegorizing

Whatever one may say in justification of this method of treating the Scriptures, it is hardly necessary to call attention to the danger that lies beneath such portions of it as commonly result from intellectual laziness. It may be all very well for one thus to use references to biblical facts and persons in illustration of thought, or for its embellishment, but when the habit reaches such a point as to incapacitate persons for obtaining anything like the exact thought or intent of Scripture, it is time that it be thrown over and a return be made to a study of geography, which, if it be less concerned with mysteries of life, has the virtue of attempting to keep within the range of fact. It cannot be too often emphasized that the Bible is a history, not alone of events, but of an interpretation of God's dealings with a nation. But history walks upon the earth, not upon air, and if one would understand the history of the Israelites, one must know the land in which the Israelites lived. The battles of Deborah and Gideon would have been very different had they been fought in Judea, and it would have been impossible for the events of David's early life to have occurred even on

the mountains of Gilboa. The kingdom of Judah would have fallen as soon as the kingdom of Israel, if Jerusalem had been a second Samaria, and Hellenism might have stamped out the Law, if the mountains of the land had been without caves.

Physical Geography a Factor in Israel's History

In fact, the study of the geography of Palestine is full of suggestions as to the history and development of Israel, which would never occur to one who neglects it, and reads his Bible with no attempt at realizing the facts that give power to its teaching. Once let the mere form of the little land be appreciated, with its hills and gorges, its interlacing water-sheds, its few opportunities for roads that could bind Judea with Galilee, and the appreciation of the work of both prophet and priest will grow immensely. For it will appear that the persistence and the development of the belief in Jehovah as one ethical and supreme God were in direct opposition to the forces which nature had set at work. Every hill was an invitation towards polytheism. And yet Israel, through the discipline of prophet and God, became the founder of the world's great monotheism. So, too, the changing seasons, the ever-returning west wind, the rains and droughts, the stony ground that is yet so fertile, the springs and water courses, while all alike serving admirably the poet and preacher, had a direct influence in determining the character of the Jew himself. And if the Jew, then Christianity.

Political Geography and the New Testament

How, too, is it possible for one to appreciate fully the diversities in the life of Jesus unless it be remembered that portions of his ministry were spent in different parts of the land? The history of Galilee, so dependent upon that country's geographical setting, made it possible for Jesus to found his kingdom far more successfully there than he ever could have done in Judea. Yet, the history of Judea is one of political struggle and often of little else than mountain passes. Who fully understands the method of Jesus' work in Galilee who cannot approximately locate the cities of the lake and their relations with the surrounding country? Indeed, so closely is his life united with the political history of Palestine that one cannot fully understand his birth,

boyhood, success, retreat, arrest, and trial, without knowing the boundaries and the political conditions of Judea and Galilee. In a certain sense the same is true of the brief career, the arrest, and the death of John the Baptist. In the case of Paul the necessity of good geographical information is even more marked. Paul was a wanderer whose methods, and, to some extent, whose preaching, took on the color of the various civilizations, and even cities, in which he labored. To make his letter to the Ephesians fit the needs of the Galatians would be as impossible as to identify the customs of Antioch in Pisidia with the customs of Athens. To say nothing of the apologetic value of the new light thrown upon the accuracy of Luke, it is no small exegetical help that has already been derived from the solution of the purely geographical question as to the location of the Galatian churches and the extent of Galatia as a province of the Roman empire.

Further Value of the Study of Biblical Geography

Such a knowledge of the geographical setting of the Old and New Testaments, it is true, may not be necessary for an understanding of Christian teaching sufficient to beget high morality and deep piety. Fortunately, it is not necessary to be a scholar before one becomes a good man. But this is by no means the same as saying that such knowledge can be slighted by any man who wishes to get at the facts that lie below the inspiration the Bible affords, or to have his religious imagination, and consequently his piety, stirred to greater depths. Indeed, the truest devotional reading of the Bible can occur only when one is deeply convinced of the historical worth of story or teaching. Especially is it hopeless to attempt to build up an intelligent Christian theology, except upon a wide induction of all sorts of facts. Without the painstaking study of the historical background of Christianity, there is danger that beliefs may grow fanciful, the emotions may tyrannize over the understanding, the letter over the spirit. But, if history be thus needed, so also is geography. For, if Christianity be a historical faith, then is it also of necessity a geographical faith.

WOMEN IN PALESTINE.

By Professor Julia E. Bulkley, Ph.D.,
The University of Chicago.

Women in Palestine are under somewhat similar social conditions as in Turkey and Egypt. Their Moslem conquerors have imposed upon them the veil, the seclusion, and many other limitations. The veil ordinarily worn is a colored print with embroidered edge, and a white robe envelops the rest of the figure. According to the social rank, silk robes, black, gray, purple, or crimson, with an ornamental border of gold thread, are also worn. Women contribute to the household service by drying fruit and grain upon the housetop, grinding corn, and bringing water. They carry the water in heavy jars, each weighing when full from fifty to seventy-five pounds. This they lift and poise upon the head in going from the spring, the river, or the distant well to the mud hovel which answers for a home. The mill used in grinding corn consists of upper and lower circular stones, between which the grain is placed ; the upper, a large stone from two to three feet in diameter, is made to revolve upon the lower by pushing it around by an upright stick or handle inserted in a hole. Two women are seated on opposite sides of this mill, and alternately push and pull, thus reducing the corn to powder by the weight and motion of the upper stone. The labor must be as severe as heavy convict labor in civilized countries. Dr. Jessup is authority for stating that women are yoked with cattle and donkeys before the plow, and driven as are other beasts of burden by the sharp goad. I did not see this severe treatment in Palestine, but only in the so-called Christian countries of Europe.

Women formerly had no education except such as was provided for them by the mission schools. But so much has public sentiment been raised by these schools, especially in Syria, that

the Moslems have become aroused and have started their own schools by the side of the mission schools, ordering those of their religious faith to withdraw their children from the mission to their own school, and even enforcing their threats by taxation

WOMEN GRINDING

and persecution. The head of one mission school, a quaint, bright, Scotch woman, said she was glad they had taught the Moslems the value of educating their women. Her account of the conditions under which her school was started was full of interest, and illustrated the difficulty under which such work with an oriental people is begun. She has now a school of about one hundred boys and girls of the lower classes, Moslems and Druses. She teaches them in Arabic, elementary number, reading and writing, with sewing and embroidery for the girls. Her first school was very successful, and numbered nearly three hundred when the Moslems opened their noisy school under the windows, forcing her to move, and reducing her numbers by taking away all her day pupils.

The higher education of women is conducted in English and French in the Beirut Seminary, where about seventy students

were enrolled. On the day of our visit we heard recitations in natural history, French, psychology — to which the oriental mind takes naturally — and reading from English readers. The class in calisthenics was conducted on the lawn under

BEIRUT

the trees, and was a pretty sight, though the pupils were listless and nerveless in their movements. The principal said that it was very hard to get concerted action from the girls at first.

To show how such education is now valued by the Syrians, I quote from a Druse father who had sent his daughter to this seminary, and was asked to give his opinion in regard to woman's education. The letter is addressed to Dr. Jessup :

To my honored Sir, to whom ever overflow the tides of grace and favor :

I would inform you that in the most propitious of seasons and most lovely of the glorious ages the full moons of your honored writings sparkled over the flowery glades, and the sweet waters of your courteous language murmured through the

recesses of our heart, giving life to the dead by the delicacy of their hidden wisdom, and by all the kind inquiries you have condescended to lay before us as to what are our views in regard to the propriety and necessity of teaching women and girls that knowledge and those arts which are appropriate to them.

My honored sir, I would answer in the way of apology that I am not of the knights of this arena, and my great incapacity to handle such a subject must be apparent to your excellency and to all who know me. But your kind interest in me and my child has led you to impute to me a degree of knowledge in these matters which I do not really possess, and I can only understand it by recalling the lines of the poet :

> The favoring eye of loving friends
> Our fault conceals, our name defends ;

and I would implore of Him most exalted never to deprive me of your exalted regard.

In obedience, then, to your request, I will venture to express my views in as far as I know anything about the subject. It is not only proper, but necessary, that girls should be taught those sciences and arts which are appropriate to them. We all know that it is the law and custom that girls marry men, and have thrown upon them the duty of training children. Now, children are brought up in the lap of the mother, and not of the father ; and if the mother has been educated, her children grow up acute of perception, intelligent and pure, and this for the reason that the son associates with his mother far more than with his father for the first ten years of his life. If the mother is enlightened, educated, and intelligent, her son will be the same. But, on the contrary, if the women are uninstructed in science and proper knowledge and useful arts, and know not the value of learning, their children will be like them. And supposing that a woman remains unmarried, still less can she afford to remain in ignorance, for she must depend for support upon her needle or her pen or some one of the useful trades and arts, and a proper education in these will make her independent for life. I might say more, but this is the extent of my knowledge, and those who are possessed of wisdom and knowledge on these themes can supply my deficiencies and convince all objectors and opposers.

. . . . . .

Please make my highest regards to their excellencies, the most honored, the teachers of the seminary, and to all your family. My uncle, Ali Beg, the Kaim Makam, offers to you the

due salutations of reverence and honor, and hearty longing to behold the light of your countenance. This is all I need to write, with the hearty offer to do anything you command in this region, for your commands are my highest honor.

The petitioner to God for you,

HASSAN HAMADY.

This was from a prince or leading man of the Druses, and represents advanced oriental sentiment. Leave off its wordy complimentary phrases, which are only a form of oriental courtesy, and the Druse leader has clear elementary ideas on the education of woman, which are probably due to the value of the instruction given to his daughter in the seminary in Beirut.

Beirut is favorably situated on the curve of a beautiful bay, with the snowy peaks of the Lebanon mountain ranges in full view from the city. It is a great educational and missionary center. There are more schools, in proportion to its size, than in many cities in more civilized lands. The college is largely attended, and ambitious young Syrians look forward to it as the great goal of their education, and from it young men go out to teach and to preach.

Mr. and Mrs. Mott's British and Foreign Colonial School in this place has a large training school for women teachers. The young girls from fourteen to eighteen, with dark eyes and hair, rich brown complexion, and happy expression, were a pleasing sight. They were neatly dressed in simple pink calico dresses, all made by the wearers. Their singing was particularly good. The girls are induced to stay in school here and at the seminary for a longer time than in other parts of Palestine, as the missionary influence has been longer felt in this center, and the value of the intellectual training is more appreciated. The students read English well, and also Arabic, but have more difficulty with mathematics, and pay less attention to the subject. Classes for the blind evidently meet a great need, since they are remarkably large. This may be explained by the fact that the babies and young children have often sore eyes, and that there is a superstition about driving away the flies which settle upon them. We often wondered how children could live to mature age with

such diseased and neglected eyes. Perhaps they are taught patience in that severe way, but we found many men and women blind in one or both eyes, or suffering from ophthalmia. If the mothers could be taught the importance and duty of cleanliness alone, it would work a great reform.

WOMEN WITH VEILS

After the terrible massacre of the Christians by the Druses, in 1860, many homeless orphans were left in the mountains, who were driven by hunger and a desire for protection into Beirut. The German deaconesses gave them food and shelter and started the orphanage now under their care. To get the funds necessary for their work, these women conduct a pay school for the children of English residents and missionaries, and thus make their finances balance. The training in cleanliness alone — for their house is a model of neatness and order — is bringing the children nearer to godliness. But it was plain to see that further instruction was not wanting. The orphans were dull-looking children, and they proved their dullness in their recitation which we heard in arithmetic. The sister said that they did not care for arithmetic, and were much better at memorizing. Our respect for these deaconesses increased as we saw how difficult was their double self-imposed task, and how well

the helpless, under their direction, were trained in helping themselves.

In our pension in Beirut there was staying temporarily a niece of the poet Wordsworth, Mary Wordsworth Smith. She was a maiden lady, advanced in years, who had devoted the greater part of her life to the care of an invalid brother. On his death she was left with some property, and looking around to see where she could benefit humanity by her efforts for the rest of her life, her attention was called to the Druses inhabiting the Lebanon mountains. This narrow sect had massacred the Christians and had shown such murderous hatred to their innocent fellowmen that she longed to carry to them the tidings of peace and good will. She built a house in a Druse village on the Lebanon mountains, won the hearts of the villagers by giving them medicine and by the occasional visits of a doctor giving them a chance of medical advice, established a dispensary in charge of a trained nurse, then a school for boys and girls, and, finally, the Sunday school. She had been there some ten years, and was on friendly, and even cordial, relations with the entire village. Her school prospered, the dispensary was a well-appreciated part of the work, and the people came now to her Sunday

WOMEN WITH WATER JARS

school; even the old Druse chief came to her to talk of religious matters. The dear old lady had grown blind and was in Beirut for treatment. Her face had the outline of her uncle, the poet, and her sweet expression and quiet composure testified to the inner beauty of a life that had so impressed her rough and murderous neighbors. The courage of such self-sacrificing devotion in renouncing the comforts of a civilized home for isolation among a hostile and treacherous people needs no comment and commands admiration.

In Bishop Gobat's school, in Jerusalem, in which many a young dragoman has his first lesson, a feature novel to the Orient is introduced in manual training. We were able to procure there models in clay of the water jar, and in wood of the winnowing fan, the goad, the oriental plow, and the yoke. From a recitation we judged that memorizing and strict discipline were characteristic of the school.

While halting for lunch between Khan el Minyeh and El Khalisa, we saw an approaching bridal cavalcade. The central figure of the procession was a mule, on which was a white canvas-covered frame, with an escort of three or four mounted Bedouins. We were told that within this moving tent was a bride on her way to the home of her future husband. Our dragoman informed us that the ladies of our party would be permitted to see her in return for a gift in silver. The caravan halted, and the canvas curtain was drawn slightly aside, enough to show the single observer the bride seated within. By her side was an elderly relative. The bride extended a slender hand, stained with henna on palm and finger nails; but not until she felt the weight of the franc piece did she draw aside her veil and show her black hair, dark eyes, and eyelids stained with kohl or antimony. She was dressed in white, with ornaments of gold coins, a necklace and a headdress. For a compensation in the form of backshish, our dragoman had no trouble in persuading the Bedouin escorts to leave the bride waiting while they showed their skill in a mock combat, in which spears were flourished, and fine horsemanship was displayed.

One interesting feature of the mission work for the education of women in Beirut is the women's class. The wife of a

professor in the theological seminary, who started the plan, took us to visit one of these classes. We crossed an old Moslem burying ground to reach the native house, the place of gathering. On the low benches, lining the room and filling the center, were sixty or seventy native women, representing all ages and grades of social standing, as was shown by their faces and garments. Just in front of me was a blear-eyed woman with red hair—a very unusual type. Back of her was seated a young girl, scarcely in her teens, with her baby; and still farther back a serious-eyed woman of middle age, with the tattoo-marks of slavery or superstition on her arm. A very handsome girl, with beautiful eyes, olive complexion, and regular features, sat in the rear; and as I looked at her she drew her white izzar partly over her face in a shy, coquettish way. The lowest grade of humanity was represented by another, and we wondered how life could hold anything of interest for such a blind and withered, distorted and misshapen creature as her. The teacher who conducted the service, a sweet-faced woman, was reading in Arabic the verse from the New Testament: "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son, that all who believe in him might have eternal life." Most of the women listened, but some showed the

DRUSE BRIDE

fickleness of children in attention, turning in the midst of the reading to a neighbor with a remark, or speaking out directly if they felt inclined. An assistant said she was policeman while the teacher read, and they exchanged offices in turn. The two elements of reader and policeman were quite necessary. After the reading and explanation, the ladies and a native teacher heard a recitation and a verse from each, passing around among the benches. The roll was called, and some made this a signal to rise. We found afterward that a small piece of cloth, a few yards, was given each woman who answered to the roll-call during the year. A helper near the door gently seated one woman who attempted to go out in a chair at her side. At this defeat all the women laughed like children, and she, finding it useless to attempt to leave, went back to her bench. A shining black woman, with a sleeping baby in her arms, tried the same plan, but she, too, was restrained in the same way. We were told that, if one had been permitted to go, all others would have followed in a noisy manner. After roll-call the teacher made a brief prayer, and they were dismissed. In a conversation with the teacher, as we walked back over the Moslem burying ground, she said that sometimes a woman was so repulsive that she had found herself taking the opposite side of the room in a recitation to avoid her, and she knew that she must overcome the feeling to do her any good. Improvement and mutual attachment followed the changed attitude of the teacher.

What can be done to lift these women above these degraded conditions of living; to save them from the dirt and ignorance and enslavement in which they exist? No mere environment can reform. If the Turkish government were to change its policy and become less tyrannical, less corrupt, less grasping (I speak of it in these diminishing terms, because I believe that no positive good can be expected from a government with such fundamental religious and political principles), even then we have not gone back to the cause of woman's degradation in these eastern countries.

Dr. Jessup says: "Contempt for woman stamps every part of

eastern life, shapes the household talk of all classes, and lives from one generation to another in familiar proverbs."

The women of his household are to the master as his animals, his dog, or his donkey, and if he speaks of them he begins with the same exclamation—an appeal to Allah as an apology for introducing so mean a subject. The Arabs have a proverb: "The household weeps forty days when a girl is born." Women are despised, and the birth of a daughter is considered a calamity. A religion that sanctions such conditions of living as polygamy and slavery can have no higher ideal of woman. Woman is not only degraded and enslaved by such a substitution for home and the family life, but the entire social whole is demoralized and corrupted.

SYRIAN GIRL

In oriental countries woman is bought and sold, married early and divorced at the arbitrary wish of her lord and master. The story of Bluebeard and his power of life and death over his wives is paralleled in many eastern households. We saw the typical venerable murderer in Beirut, where his history was known. His gray hairs and flowing beard made him a stately picture as he walked in his garden in the cool of the day; but his imperious manner was evident to us, his near neighbors, who

overlooked the direction of his household from the balcony above. He had had three wives, and they, with a step-son, who stood between him and his last wife's property, had been mysteriously murdered, as it was understood, by his agency. He had been tried for murder each time, but Turkish justice, as is well known, is bought and sold, and he had the money of his wives. Divorces are so easily obtained that it adds another element of uncertainty in the life of woman.

Nineteen centuries have nearly gone since Christ taught that not might nor power, but spiritual force should prevail in the establishment of the kingdom of heaven; yet even now we are prone to measure men and women by the old standards. It is where the Christian spirit is recognized, where the standard that Christ raised is most closely followed, where his teachings are studied and practiced, that woman is elevated, that her recognition as having rights of property, of independence, of voluntary helpfulness, are growing into established facts.

WOMEN WITH FAGOTS

EXPOSITORY PREACHING.

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I.

INTRODUCTORY — THE BIBLICAL ELEMENT IN THE MODERN SERMON.

One of the finest chapters in that most suggestive book, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, by Dr. Edwin Hatch, is the chapter on Greek and Christian rhetoric. Dr. Hatch declares that Greek rhetoric created the Christian sermon, and that many a modern preacher is the lineal descendant of the old-time sophist, who boasted of his ability to take any side of any subject, and, by the art of the orator, please, persuade, and carry the people. "Christianity came into the educated world in the simple dress of a prophet of righteousness; but round it thronged a race of eloquent talkers, who persuaded it to change its dress and to assimilate its language to their own. It seemed thereby to win a speedier and completer victory, but it purchased conquest at the price of reality; with that its progress stopped. There has been an element of sophistry in it ever since." The meaning of Dr. Hatch is very clear to anyone brought up on the average New England sermon of fifty years ago. The object of that preaching was to present a theme in logical order and rhetorical dress. The sermon did not come, "like the volcano's tongue of flame, up from the burning core below," but it came from the text-book of theology, and the treatise on sacred oratory. It had more of Demosthenes and Cicero than of Isaiah and Paul. It had more affinity with the orations against Catiline than with the invectives of Hosea against Israel. In other words, it was theologically Christian, but in its form and method pagan. In this paper we maintain that the method as well as the truth in Christian preaching should be

determined by the great revelation of God recorded in the sacred Scriptures. What is called "expository preaching" is indeed often a weariness to the flesh, and consists simply in a running series of comments loosely attached to some passage of Scripture, like the psalm book in Longfellow's *Miles Standish:*

> Printed in Amsterdam, the words and the music together,
> Rough-hewn angular notes, like stones in the walls of the church-yard,
> *Darkened* and *overhung* by the running vine of the verses.

Nevertheless, the constant discussion concerning exposition in the pulpit shows the craving of the people, not, indeed, for loose, disjointed comment, but for a saturation of modern preaching with biblical spirit and biblical forms of thought, the demand that our students shall sit, not chiefly at the feet of Quintilian and Cicero and Burke and Webster, but at the feet of Hosea, Isaiah, Paul, and John.

The Bible is the record of the self-revelation of God through a historical process. This conception is fundamental in preaching. Some conceptions of the Bible are utterly unfruitful. If we think of it as an aëreolite, dropped out of the sky, we may worship, but we cannot use it. If we think of it as a Christian Koran divinely dictated to some human amanuensis, we may obey, but we cannot really study it. But endlessly fruitful is the conception of the Bible, which sees in it a series of redemptive acts. With God, as with us, actions speak louder than words. Words are but the *post-factum* statement. The real revelation is in the divine deed; in the fact that God went forth before the armies of Israel, rather than in the song which celebrates the fact; in the fact that Christ came from heaven to earth, rather than in Simeon's greeting of the Christ-child in the temple. As Professor Simon has it, "the Bible is the record of the progressive entrance of God into the life of man." Hence, biblical history must always be of immense service to the Christian preacher. To study the development of ideas concerning righteousness, purity, immortality, ritual, salvation, in Israel's history, is simply to study the life of God in Israel. History, then, becomes a living organism, and such study is really a branch of biology. On one side we are studying the evolution of Israel as a nation; on

the other side we are studying the revelation of Jehovah in the life of this people. Evolution is the revelation seen from below; revelation is the evolution seen from above. God elected this one nation for the sake of humanity, and manifested himself uniquely, amazingly, in the life of this one people, that he might permeate the lives of all men that dwell on all the face of the earth.

Now, if the truth of God has thus come into the world through the history, that truth can never be severed from its original manifestation. We are to study, in the phrase of Dr. George A. Gordon, the "ascertained path of the transforming influence as it came upon man in the past." To take the idea out of its setting is to modify the idea itself. To preach it apart from its historical vehicle is like taking a plant out of its habitat, and presenting it as a dried specimen in some herbarium. It is to take the bird out of its nest in the thicket, and set it up as a stuffed specimen on a wooden peg — a thing of sawdust and glassy eyes. We can never understand the doctrine of immortality, unless we see it as it was divinely revealed to man. We can never know God as he is, if we try to expound simply theoretic theology, without regard to the way in which he made himself known to man. We are not preachers of a philosophy of the universe; we are not bearers of a humanly constructed theodicy. We are interpreters of a divine revelation, which occurred in human history and which can never be separated from that history without serious loss and the permanent deterioration of the message.[1]

The preacher needs the biblical element also, because his own life is a continuation of the biblical history; it is at the same time to be tested by that history and is to form a continuation of it. The preacher's message is the same as that of the apostles. Apostolic succession is not only apostolic success, but it is the possession of the apostolic spirit. They which are of the faith are the children of faithful Abraham. They are divine apostles who are filled with the spirit of the apostles.

[1] "There is not in all this foolish world anything so utterly vain as abstract preaching, the presentation of ideas totally disengaged from the times and persons in which they first appeared, the discussion of moral truth out of all relation to the souls that brought it into our world."— GEORGE A. GORDON, *The Christ of Today*, p. 286.

Preaching is the undying institution of Christianity, and becomes a reality as the preacher's experience is assimilated to the experience of men who have received the revelation before him. "The bullet will hit the mark," says Emerson, "which is first dipped in the marksman's blood." In those experiences of the apostles and prophets were blood and fire and tears and martyrdom, and only as we reproduce their experience shall we attain their results. Thus the revelation of the olden ages is at the same time a test of our reality and the inspiration to our endeavor.

Moreover, Jesus Christ saturated himself with the Old Testament. There was, indeed, a strange novelty in his preaching. As soon as men heard him they cried out: "What new doctrine is this?" He appeared to break with the past; he dared to criticise the old law, and in almost every discussion with the religious leaders of his time he was found on the liberal side. But his new doctrine was rooted in the old history. His character was formed and nourished by the Old Testament. His one great answer to the perplexing questions of his time was a reference to the divine revelation. When men asked him about marriage, he said: "Have ye not read how God made them in the beginning?" When they asked him regarding the Sabbath, he said: "Have ye not read what David did?" When they would perplex him with questions concerning the resurrection, he said: "Have ye not read how God spake to Moses at the bush?" and his stinging condemnation of Pharisaism was: "Ye do *therefore* err, not knowing the Scriptures and the power of God." The Old Testament rose to his lips as naturally as water rises to the mouth of a spring. As the shadow of the cross fell upon him, he cried: "The things which are written must be accomplished in me." In the utter darkness he cried: "*Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani.*" On the way to Emmaus he explained to the two disciples the Scriptures concerning himself. His constant formula was: "It is written." Of course, we might say that, being a Jew, he could not do otherwise than saturate his soul with the Old Testament; but if that Old Testament had not been of preëminent spiritual significance for the life of humanity, then

we may be sure that the soul of Jesus would have instinctively turned from it, as he turned from the precepts of the Pharisees, and the stolid, spiritless performance of the temple worship. The Old Testament was the Bible of Jesus. The Old Testament, which some with absurd timidity seem to think is about to vanish from our modern life, or has become, in the phrase of Goldwin Smith, "the millstone of Christianity," was the chief human aid that Christ had in the development of his own spiritual life, and this one fact makes it forever significant and indispensable to humanity.

Another reason for insisting on the biblical element in preaching is that biblical forms of thought are the most effective forms. The original form is closest to the original truth. We are to beware of the ideas apart from the personality through which they enter the world. No system of abstract ideas is a religion. If the Bible is the story of the training of a race, then the thought-forms through which the race was trained are indispensable in the work of today. It is utter folly to preach from texts ignoring their historic perspective. A minister preached recently a most fervid sermon before a temperance society from the text, "Cut it with the penknife," from which he proceeded to deduce the duty of cutting off evil habits. Every one of us has met with scores of such distortions of the Scripture. But we can, by means of what Professor Phelps calls "expository culture," so saturate our souls with the thought-forms of the Scripture that we shall naturally turn, not to the Greek sophist, but to the Hebrew prophet, for the material and the mode of Christian preaching. By books of travel and geography we can make Palestine as real as our native state; we can create a background and atmosphere which shall illuminate every single passage of the Scripture, and so enrich our minds that we shall never fall back on books of anecdote for spiritual instruction, but the whole sacred Scripture shall radiate its power through all our proclamation. To discourse on the duty of repentance is well, but to show that repentance in Peter and David, and perhaps in Esau, is better. To discourse on abstract benevolence is perhaps sometimes helpful; infinitely

more helpful is it to study Paul's exertions for the poor of Jerusalem — his motives, methods, and results. To preach on the duty of growth is well; to show that growth in the life and teachings of the apostles is immensely more effective. To rebuke bigotry and intolerance is a duty; but to show that intolerance operating in John when he would call down fire from heaven, and then to see it so vanquished by the spirit of Jesus that that same fiery disciple becomes at last the apostle of love — this is to preach Christian charity in a way that shall make it as a nail fastened by a master of assemblies. To preach simply virtue and benevolence and justice and truth is not to be a Christian minister. We are to show these things as they entered the world under the divine tuition, and in such forms of thought that they never can vanish from human consciousness. We are not to expound intellectually the duty of parent and child, but to show the Virgin and the Son in the marvelous beauty of the home in Nazareth. We are not to set forth the philosophic doctrine of the atonement, but to "placard" before the eyes of men Jesus Christ as crucified among them. To picture the three crosses on Calvary is to help the world far more than by the presentation of any doctrine of vicarious sacrifice. To show Jesus at the Last Supper surrounded by the Twelve is to do more for the coming of the kingdom on earth than to preach liberty, equality, fraternity to the end of time.[2]

The Bible also furnishes the preacher with inexhaustible material; the utility of the Bible is the best proof of its inspiration. "I know the Bible is inspired, because it inspires me," says Mr. Moody; and, we may add, no man can know that fact in any other way. The Bible gives us a spiritual vocabulary — a series of concepts which are practically inexhaustible. The songs of the Bible must be sung again through every preacher and in every tongue; the sermons of the Bible must be repreached in every nation under heaven, not by vain and servile imitation, but by the absorption of their moral passion. The types of thought

[2] "The Tübingen criticism failed, because it neither discovered nor cared to discover the Person that created the processes it described. Paul was more important than Jesus. Impersonal tendencies were greater than conscious persons."—FAIRBAIRN'S *Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 273.

furnished in the Scripture are manifold, and the preacher who cannot preach one of the apostles can preach another. Paul gives us one type of thought—that which has hitherto been dominant in the Christian church. Peter frankly says that in that beloved brother are "some things hard to be understood"—an admission which has endeared the apostle Peter to thousands of Christians. John has nothing to say about the central concepts of Paul, nor does he view the church from the standpoint of Peter, but from his own standpoint proclaims a message forever individual, yet forever fundamentally harmonious with that of his colleagues.

Again, the Bible gives us truth in its true proportions. Preaching is not simply proclaiming a series of truths, but it is presenting those truths in their divinely intended balance and symmetry. If we make prominent in our preaching what has small space in the Bible, and neglect that which has great space in the Bible, then it must follow that just because our Bible has gripped the conscience of humanity, our preaching will fail to do so. The weakness of old New England preaching was that it gave the most space to that which in the Bible occupies least attention. It made prominent what is logically important, but practically of little value. It set forth with ponderous rhetoric that which would be all-essential if we were expounding a theodicy, but that which may be well-nigh neglected if we are seeking to save men. Our mission is, not to justify the ways of God to men, but to rectify the ways of men to God; our preaching is a gospel, not a theodicy. If the Bible gives much space to metaphysics, then we should do the same; otherwise not. If the Bible gives much space to original sin and the fall of man, we should do the same; otherwise not. The federal headship of Adam *may* be enormously important in a system of theology, but since Adam himself is never mentioned by Christ, and only two or three times in the entire New Testament, he cannot be a very important factor in Christian preaching. The virgin birth of Christ most Christians accept. It may be a very important part of the Christian creed, it may be essential to Christian theology, but if it is mentioned in only two gospels and entirely

ignored in the whole apostolic proclamation, it cannot be essential in the preaching of today. If the apostles gave their time to reconciling science and religion, we may justly believe that the growth of the kingdom depends on our doing the same. If they could get along without this, it seems possible that some of us might profitably follow their example. If the Bible gives much space to explaining the mysteries of creation in the far past, or publishing a programme of divine action in the future, we may well give our time to doctrines of cosmology and eschatology; but if the Bible is mainly concerned in bringing eternity to bear on the present time, then we must do the same. Some years ago a complete analysis of the Holy Bible was issued by Roswell D. Hitchcock, accompanied with copious indexes to the entire Scriptures. In these indexes was just one reference to the kingdom of heaven, which is mentioned in the gospels more than a hundred times, and forms the fundamental conception of Jesus; but this has almost totally dropped out of modern preaching.[3] The proportion of faith must be the biblical proportion, if we expect the power which once followed the proclamation of the holy men of old.

The Bible also gives us truth at maximum intensity; it is passionate, vehement, enthusiastic, pungent, and compelling. Marvelous is the irony of Isaiah, as he pictures men fashioning a graven image, and falling down to the stock of a tree and saying: "Thou art my God." How awful is his reverence as he cries: "Here am I, send me." How marvelous is the tenderness of Hosea, as through his broken home and domestic tragedy there streams into his soul a vision of the forgiving love of God! How tremendous is the passionate cursing of the imprecatory psalms, which in times of peace we expurgate for dainty congregations, and which, when reading of the woes of Armenia and the atrocities of the Turk, we find all too weak to express our Christian indignation! How rapturous and magnificent is the vision of John, as from his rocky island he looks out over the tossing Ægean and catches glimpses of the time when the kingdoms

[3] In Dr. Shedd's *Theology*, if I recollect rightly, three pages are devoted to heaven and over eighty pages to hell — hardly a biblical proportion!

of this world, east and west, Roman, Egyptian, Assyrian, are to become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ! The man who has drawn truth from such sources will never present it as a dried formula, but will always feel his soul on fire as he proclaims it. He has felt a virtue that is passionate, and a message which will give him no rest. He knows "in what a forge and what a heat were shaped the anchors of our hope."

One more reason we have for insisting upon the biblical element in preaching. This alone will save us from the perils which constantly surround us. This will save us from the secularism which would often substitute discourses on modern novels, on drainage, on tenement-house reform, on the advantages of the bicycle, for the prophetic message which has melted the heart of the generations. This alone will save us from ranting and mere exhortation. We shall deem it a crime to arouse men's emotions for any other purpose than to shape their life. We shall "value no feeling which is not the child of truth and the parent of duty." This will save us from the philosophic essay, icily regular, splendidly null; from the polishing of sentences and the carving of cherry stones, when we should be shaping souls. It will make us understand why such men as William M. Taylor and John Hall were called across the water by a generation that was weary of arid acres of theological discussion. It will bring us into vital sympathy with Robertson, whose every sermon grew out of the Bible as a plant grows out of the seed; with Phillips Brooks, who, though so intensely modern, never found a sermon until he had first found a text; with Alexander Maclaren, whose inexhaustible wealth comes, not from "wells of English undefiled," not from a study of the great thinkers of the world, but from daily communion with the biblical teachers, apostles, and martyrs who, through faith, have subdued kingdoms and put to flight armies of aliens.

The words of Matthew Arnold, written for all truth-seekers, have a special cogency for the preacher of today: "As long as the world lasts, all who want to make progress in righteousness will come to Israel for inspiration, as to the people who have had the sense for righteousness most glowing and strongest, and,

in hearing and reading the words of Israel, carers for conduct will find a glow and a force they will find nowhere else. As well imagine a man with a sense for sculpture not cultivating it with the help of Greek art, or a man with a sense for poetry not cultivating it with the help of Homer and Shakespeare, as a man with a sense for conduct not cultivating it with the help of the Bible."

THE TRIBUTE MONEY

THE PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.*

By Ernest D. Burton,
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III. THE PURPOSE WITH WHICH THE EVANGELIST WROTE.

Alike the material and the general structure of the book suggest that we have to do here with a work which is in a sense historical or biographical. The material is mainly narrative in form, consisting of reports of deeds done and discourses uttered on certain occasions, not of discussion or formal argument by the writer of the book. It is a history, however, which gathers around the person of Jesus; only such events and persons as stand in immediate relation to him are spoken of, and these only in so far as they are related to him. The book falls into six main parts (*cf.* the analysis at the end of this article), representing periods of the life of Jesus and arranged in chronological order, from his birth to his resurrection.

Yet before it is decided that, because the material is of a biographical character and the main structure chronological, therefore the end of the writer is attained when he has given an historically correct representation of the life of Jesus, or even, perhaps, when he has told such facts about the life of Jesus as are known to him, certain other considerations must be taken into account. It must be remembered that it was in accordance with the literary method of the first Christian century and of the adjacent periods to employ historical material for argumentative purposes, and that, too, without casting the material into the form of an argument or even stating anywhere in the course of the narrative what the facts were intended to prove. It was assumed that the reader or hearer would be shrewd enough to discover this for himself, and this assumption was apparently amply justified.

*The preceding portion of this article appeared in the January number.

This use of historical material for argumentative purposes, this clothing of argument in narrative form, finds several clear illustrations in the New Testament. In the discourse of Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth, as related in Luke 4:16–30, Jesus replies to the thought of the Nazarenes, which they have not even openly expressed, by relating two events from Old Testament history; he does not state what these events prove, and modern interpreters are somewhat puzzled to tell precisely what he did intend to prove by them. But there is no doubt that he intended that they should teach something not directly expressed in them, and that the Nazarene congregation so understood him. The speeches in the book of Acts are almost all of them of the same character, from the speech of Peter on the day of Pentecost down to the later speeches of Paul. The two best illustrations are furnished by the speech of Stephen before the council, which is very evidently of argumentative purpose, yet which leaves the purpose so entirely unstated that most readers today probably entirely fail to perceive it, and the speech of Paul at Pisidian Antioch, which has the same characteristics, only less strongly marked. The fourth gospel furnishes an illustration of a book almost wholly made up of narrative material (including in that term conversations and discourses assigned to certain occasions), yet explicitly stated by the writer to have been written with the purpose of convincing men of a certain doctrinal proposition, this again for the purpose of producing a certain moral result (20:30, 31). The book of Acts also, though the writer has not stated a definite argumentative purpose, is almost universally admitted to have been written for such a purpose; precisely what the purpose was interpreters still dispute.

In view of this well-established literary custom, of which there are abundant examples in the New Testament literature itself, it is only natural to ask whether our gospel also gives evidence of such a purpose on the part of its writer. Such evidence does, in fact, appear the moment we carry our study of the structure of the book beyond a division into its six main parts. The first main division, though including only material pertaining to the ancestry, birth, and infancy of Jesus, yet makes an

evidential use of every event which it relates, pointing out how in each of the narrated facts Old Testament prophecy was fulfilled in Jesus. The Galilean ministry is scarcely less evidently constructed on a plan which is more logical than chronological, the whole constituting an exposition of the nature of the kingdom of heaven, the way in which it must be received, and the way in which the Jews did actually receive it, foreshadowing their rejection of the Messiah, and their own consequent downfall (*cf.* the analysis). The passion week, though the material is, with a few significant exceptions, apparently arranged on a chronological plan, is yet so treated as to present the evidence for the fact that Christ and his kingdom were explicitly and clearly presented to the Jews for their acceptance, with warning of the consequences to them of rejection, and that in the face of such presentation and such warning they definitely rejected Christ and the kingdom.

But if the book has an argumentative purpose, which is either the dominant one or one which is coördinate with a more distinctly historical aim, precisely what is it that the author conceives his narrative to prove and of which he wishes to convince his readers? The answer must be gained by observing on what the writer lays emphasis. Notice, then, what the passages already cited have, in part, shown, the characteristic ideas of this gospel. The writer believes in the Old Testament, and holds that its Messianic prophecies are fulfilled in Jesus (1:23, etc.); Jesus himself held to the divine and permanent authority of the Old Testament ethical teaching (5:17 ff.; 15:3 ff., etc.), though indirectly criticising the statutory legislation or affirming its temporary character (5:21–48 *passim;* 9:14–17; 15:10–20; 19:8); he addressed himself to the Jews, announced the near approach of the kingdom of heaven, adapted his instruction to their point of view (see all the discourses); limited his own personal mission to them (15:24), and instructed his disciples when he sent them out to do the same (10:5, 6); when, despite the fact that multitudes followed him and true disciples were won, it became evident that the leaders of the people would reject him, he warned them of the danger of such

rejection (8 : 11, 12 ; 12 : 38–45 ; *cf.* the words of John the Baptist, 3 : 9), and as opposition grew and approached its culmination in the determination to put him to death, he scathingly rebuked the Pharisees, under whose influence the nation was rejecting its Messiah (chap. 23, esp. vs. 13), announced with increasing distinctness the direful results of such rejection to the nation and to Judaism itself, even definitely declaring the rejection of the nation by God (see 21 : 33–46 ; 22 : 1–14 ; but especially 21 : 42, 43 ; 22 : 7 ; 23 : 36, 38 ; 24 : 2); and finally, after his final rejection, his death and triumphant resurrection, he commissioned his disciples no longer to go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, but to make disciples of all nations (28 : 19).

These are characteristics which are not common to all our gospels ; they are, in large part, peculiar to Matthew ; they show that the purpose of this argument in narrative form is to prove that Jesus is the true Messiah of the Jews ; that he announced and founded the kingdom of God, expounding its true nature, and setting forth its relation to the Old Testament religion ; that he came, first of all, to the Jewish nation ; that, when they showed signs of a disposition not to receive his message, he warned them that the consequence of such rejection would be that the kingdom would be taken from them ; that, in fact, they did in the face of all this warning and instruction reject Jesus and put him to death ; and that, consequently, the kingdom ceased to be in any distinctive sense Jewish, and in place of the old national dispensation there was created by Jesus himself, the true Jewish Messiah, a kingdom of all nations ; thus, universal Christianity, freed from all national restrictions or peculiarly Jewish institutions, becomes the true successor of the Old Testament religion ; the true Jew must be a follower of Jesus, and, in consequence, leave Judaism behind.

IV. OTHER PROBLEMS IN THE LIGHT OF THE PURPOSE.

If this is a correct exposition of the specific aim of the book, it affords help in the answer of several other questions. Thus it gives a more definite answer to the inquiry concerning

the readers especially in the writer's mind (*cf.* § II). It becomes clear that the book was intended, not for Jews as such, but *for Jewish Christians.* Were the book designed simply to prove the Messiahship of Jesus, it might be supposed to be addressed to unconverted Jews, and intended to persuade them to accept Jesus as the Christ. But if the argument for the Messiahship of Jesus is but the first step of the whole, and if the ultimate purpose is to convince the reader, on historical grounds, that Christianity is not a national but a universal religion, that the old limitations of Judaism, though valid in their own time, have, by the Jewish rejection of the Messiah, been broken down, this is evidently a line of thought which would be addressed to a Christian, either to persuade him to abandon his narrow Judaistic type of Christianity, or to dissuade him from turning back from Christianity to Judaism itself. Were the book less careful to recognize the legitimacy of the Old Testament, and the primary mission of Jesus to the Jews, and, in general, to adapt its argument to the Jewish point of view, its contention for a universal Christianity might seem to point to Gentile Christians as the reader whom the writer had in mind. But faced, as it constantly is, to the thought of the Jew, such a destination for the book is excluded.

But while intended for Jewish Christian readers, the book is emphatically *not of a Judaistic cast.* It is even more directly opposed to the Judaizing type of Christianity than most of the writings of Paul which deal with that question. The apostle to the Gentiles confined himself for the most part to defending the right of the Gentiles to believe in Jesus and enter into all the privileges of Christians without becoming subject to the law. Of course, the logic of this position involved a like freedom ultimately for the Jew, and Paul could, on occasion, insist upon this (Gal. 2 : 15–19; Eph. 2 : 14–16), yet always *for the sake of* the Gentile, whose interests he, as the apostle of the Gentile, was concerned to defend. But this gospel, addressed to Jewish Christians, shows from the teaching and conduct of Jesus that for the Jew also the old régime has ended; the nation that rejected the Messiah is itself rejected; its temple, the center of ritual and

worship, is overthrown; its house is left unto it desolate; the kingdom of God is taken from it and given unto a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof; the Old Testament foundation of the kingdom is not for a moment repudiated, but on the basis of the teaching of the Old Testament and of the words of Jesus the Christ, the Christian church, drawn from all nations and having no special relation to the temple or Judaism, is shown to be the inheritor of the kingdom.

In the light of this purpose of the book, its *unity* is clearly evident. From the assertion in its first verse that Jesus is the Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham, to the commission which in its closing paragraph this Christ, now risen from the dead, gives to his apostles to make disciples of all nations, one thought dominates it. This is no patchwork put together by several hands working with different conceptions, or by one editor whose only thought was to include all the evangelic material that he possessed. The writer may have employed as sources of his book other gospel writings; the resemblance of some of the material to that which is contained in the other gospels seems to show that he had such sources; but, whether so or not, he has wrought all his material into a real book, with a definite course of thought and a clearly defined aim.

Nor can it be doubted that the writer had before him *a definite situation*, a practical problem to solve, not a merely theoretical proposition to prove. He is a man of thought, even of a reflective turn of mind; but his book is far from being a mere meditative study. Though so different in form and style, it reminds us by its purpose of the epistle to the Hebrews, which was written to those who, having received the knowledge of the truth, were in danger of drawing back and of not holding fast the confession of their faith (Heb. 10: 19–39). There is much to suggest that our evangelist wrote not, indeed, for the same persons, but for those who were subject to a similar danger. Was it, perhaps, for those who, having till now held fast to Judaism, only adding to it faith in Jesus as the Messiah, but now seeing the near approach of the destruction of Jerusalem, or possibly having already witnessed it, were in danger of

surrendering their Christianity under the effect of the blow which had fallen upon Judaism? To save them from this danger it would be needful to separate Judaism and Christianity in their minds; while confirming their faith in Jesus as the Christ of prophecy, to show them that he had himself announced precisely that which was now happening, and had in anticipation of it founded a Christianity which was at the same time the legitimate successor of the Old Testament religion and free from its national restrictions. But whether it was the destruction of Jerusalem, impending or already past, which furnished the immediate occasion for the book or not, it seems impossible to doubt that it was written primarily to convince Jewish Christians that the religion of Jesus was not merely the Judaism of the temple, *plus* a belief in Jesus as the Messiah, but a world-religion, freed from all bounds and restrictions that were local and national. It carries the doctrine of the apostle Paul to the conclusion which Paul saw to be involved in it, but to which he was not wont himself to press it.

The following is an attempt to exhibit the plan of the book as it lay in the writer's mind:

ANALYSIS OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

I. THE BIRTH AND INFANCY OF JESUS. The Advent of the Messiah in accordance with prophecy.	chaps. 1, 2
1. The genealogy of Jesus, showing his Abrahamic and Davidic descent.	1 : 1–17
2. The annunciation to Joseph, and the birth of Jesus from the virgin, as prophesied.	1 : 18–25
3. The visit of the Magi, giving occasion to the testimony of the Jewish doctors that Bethlehem was the prophesied birthplace of the Messiah.	2 : 1–12
4. The flight into Egypt, fulfilling prophecy.	2 : 13–15
5. The murder of the children of Bethlehem, fulfilling prophecy.	2 : 16–18
6. The return from Egypt and removal to Nazareth, fulfilling prophecy.	2 : 19–23
II. PREPARATION FOR THE PUBLIC WORK OF JESUS. Events preparatory to the founding of the kingdom.	3 : 1—4 : 11
1. The preparatory ministry of John the Baptist, in accordance with prophecy.	3 : 1–12

2. The baptism of Jesus, accompanied by the descent of the Spirit and the voice from heaven. 3:13–17
3. The temptation in the wilderness, settling the principles on which his work was to be done. 4:1–11

III. THE MINISTRY IN GALILEE. The kingdom founded and its fundamental principles set forth. 4:12—18:35

1. The beginning of Jesus' work in Galilee. 4:12–25
   a. The removal to Capernaum and the beginning of preaching. 4:12–17
   b. The call of the Four to evangelistic work. 4:18–22
   c. Jesus' early work in Galilee; his widespread fame. 4:23–25
[1] 2. The Sermon on the Mount; the ethical principles of the kingdom. chaps. 5–7
3. A group of events, each of which either illustrates or attests the authority which in the sermon he has assumed. 8:1—9:34
   a. A leper cleansed. 8:1–4
   b. The centurion's servant healed. 8:5–13
   c. Peter's wife's mother healed. 8:14–18
   d. Answers to disciples about following him. 8:19–22
   e. The stilling of the tempest. 8:23–27
   f. The Gadarene demoniacs. 8:28–34
   g. A paralytic healed and his sins forgiven. [Note here the relation implied between power and authority.] 9:1–8
   h. The call of Matthew. 9:9–13
   i. Answer concerning fasting. 9:14–17
   j. A ruler's daughter raised, and a woman healed. 9:18–26
   k. Two blind men and a dumb demoniac healed. 9:27–34
4. Discourse to the Twelve on sending them out; the proclamation of the kingdom. 9:35—10:42
5. Events showing the attitude of various persons toward the gospel, and teaching concerning the spirit in which the gospel must be received. chaps. 11, 12
   a. Jesus' answer to the message from John the Baptist. 11:1–6
   b. The captious spirit of the Jews condemned by Jesus. 11:7–19
   c. Woes against the cities which had not repented at the preaching of Jesus. 11:20–24
   d. The thanksgiving of Jesus that the gospel is plain to the simple-minded, and his invitation to the heavy-laden. 11:25–30
   e. Plucking grain on the sabbath; the bigotry of the Pharisees rebuked. 12:1–8

[1] It is worthy of notice that each alternate section of this Part III (see 2, 4, 6, 8) is a discourse of Jesus: all these discourses treat of the kingdom of heaven, and together constitute an exposition of the kingdom in its various phases.

f. Healing of the withered hand on the Sabbath; bigotry issuing in murderous purpose. 12:9–14
g. Jesus heals many; the gentleness of his ministry. 12:15–21
h. Jesus heals a blind and dumb demoniac; the Pharisees charge him with collusion with Satan, and Jesus warns them of the danger of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. 12:22–37
i. The Pharisees seek a sign; Jesus' answer. 12:38–42
j. The man from whom the unclean spirit has gone out; a parable of the Jewish nation. 12:43–45
k. The real basis of relationship to Christ. 12:46–50

6. Discourse of parables, chiefly concerning the growth of the kingdom. 13:1–52
7. The events of the later part of the Galilean ministry, illustrating especially the increasing unbelief and opposition of the Pharisees, and the instruction of the disciples, particularly from[2] 16:21 on, in preparation for his death. 13:53—17:27

a. The unbelief of the Nazarenes. 13:53–58
b. The death of John the Baptist at the hands of Herod. 14:1–12
c. The feeding of the five thousand. 14:13–22
d. Jesus walking on the water, and Peter's attempt to do so. 14:23–36
e. Eating with unwashen hands; the Pharisees' criticism, and Jesus' answer. 15:1–20
f. The faith of a Canaanitish woman. 15:21–28
g. A multitude healed by the Sea of Galilee. 15:29–31
h. The feeding of the four thousand. 15:32–39

[2] Chap. 16:21 marks an epoch which is in a sense more important than that indicated at 19:1, and there is certainly something to be said for the view that the author meant to mark here the beginning of a new division of his book and of a new period of the work of Jesus, characterized by the preparation of his disciples for his death, as the ministry up to this time had been mainly devoted to the proclamation of the kingdom to the people (*cf.* 4:17, and notice the similarity of the phrase to that used in 16:21). Yet, on the whole, it seems probable that the great divisions of the book are made on the basis of external characteristics, mainly geographical. The periods thus made are marked in general by distinctive internal characteristics also. In the case of the close of the Galilean ministry, however, the change in internal characteristics antedates somewhat the change of place. At the time denoted by 16:21 it is already clear that he must die at the hands of the Jews, and in Jerusalem; and, moreover, that the minds of his disciples must be prepared for this event. From this time on, the evangelist indicates, this preparation fills a prominent place in Jesus' work, and his face is in a sense toward Jerusalem, where he is to die. The change in the character of his teaching and the change of place both result from the same cause; yet it is not unnatural that the former should precede the latter by a brief interval.

i. Pharisees and Sadducees demand a sign; Jesus' answer. 16:1–4

j. The leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees; Jesus' warning and the slowness of the disciples to understand. 16:5–12

k. Peter's confession of Jesus as the Messiah, 16:13–20

l. Jesus begins to instruct his disciples concerning his death and resurrection. 16:21–28

m. The transfiguration, wherein Jesus is declared to be the Son of God. 17:1–13

n. The epileptic boy healed. 17:14–20

o. Jesus again foretells his death. 17:22, 23

p. The payment of the temple tax and Jesus' instruction of Peter concerning relation to the temple worship. 17:24–27

8. Discourse on ambition, humility, and forgiveness; the personal relations of the citizens of the kingdom to one another. chap. 18

IV. JOURNEY THROUGH PEREA TO JERUSALEM. Jesus continues the instruction of his disciples, especially, in the latter part, concerning his death. chaps. 19, 20

1. The departure from Galilee. 19:1, 2
2. Answer to questions concerning divorce. 19:3–12
3. Christ blesses little children, and reproves his disciples. 19:13–15
4. Answer to the rich young man concerning eternal life. 19:16–22
5. Instruction to the disciples concerning riches as an obstacle to entrance into the kingdom. 19:23–26
6. Concerning the rewards of discipleship. 19:27—20:16
7. Jesus foretells his crucifixion. 20:17–19
8. The ambition of James and John, and Jesus' answer concerning suffering and rewards in his service. 20:20–28
9. The two blind men near Jericho, who hail Jesus as son of David. 20:29–34

V. THE CLOSING MINISTRY IN JERUSALEM. [Passion week.] The last offer of the Messiah to the nation and the final rejection. chaps. 21–27

1. Symbolic proclamation of himself as the Messiah. 21:1–17
   a. The triumphal entry. 21:1–11
   b. The cleansing of the temple. 21:12–17
2. Symbolic prediction to the disciples of the rejection of the nation. 21:18–22
3. The mutual rejection. The Jews resist the claim of Jesus; he reiterates warning and prediction. 21:23—23:39
   a. The Jews' challenge of his authority to cleanse the temple, and his answer to them. 21:23–27

b. Three parables of warning. 21 : 27–22 : 14
a) The parable of the two sons. 21 : 23–32
b) The parable of the husbandmen, predicting the rejection of the nation. 21 : 33–46
c) The parable of the marriage of the king's son. 22 : 1–14
d. Three questions by the Jewish rulers. 22 : 15–40
a) Concerning paying tribute. 22 : 15–22
b) Concerning the resurrection. 22 : 23–33
c) Concerning the greatest commandment. 22 : 34–40
e. Jesus' question concerning the Christ. 22 : 41–46
f. Jesus' great discourse against the Pharisees. chap. 23

4. Prophetic discourse to the disciples concerning the end of the nation and the end of the age. chaps. 24, 25
5. Preparation for the death of Jesus. 26 : 1–46
a. By his enemies ; the plot to put him to death. 26 : 1–5
b. By his friends ; the anointing. 26 : 6–13
c. By Judas ; the bargain to betray him. 26 : 14–16
d. By Jesus himself. 26 : 17–46
a) The last supper. 26 : 17–30
b) The warning to the disciples. 26 : 31–35
c) The prayer and the agony. 26 : 36–46
6. The consummation of the rejection of Jesus by the Jews. 26 : 47—27 : 66
a. The arrest. 26 : 47–56
b. The trial. 26 : 57—27 : 31
c. The crucifixion and the death. 27 : 32–56
d. The burial. 27 : 57–61
e. The watch at the tomb. 27 : 62–66

VI. THE APPEARANCES OF JESUS AFTER THE RESURRECTION. The triumph of the Messiah over his enemies and the commission of the disciples to win all nations to him. chap. 28

1. The appearance on the resurrection morning. 28 : 1–10
2. The report of the watch ; attempt of the Jews to suppress the evidence. 28 : 11–15
3. The appearance in Galilee ; the commission of the disciples. 28 : 16–20

JESUS AS AN ORGANIZER OF MEN.

By Professor Walter Rauschenbusch,
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At first blush the most striking thing about the theme is that so little can be said about it. When we think of Jesus as an example, as a teacher, as a unique personality, a number of facts come trooping through the avenues of our mind to offer their contribution to such a subject. But what did Jesus organize? What institutions did he found? Is it not precisely one of the remarkable things about his work that he did so little of either? How incongruous to think of Jesus imposing a constitution and by-laws on the apostolic college and appointing Peter as president and Judas as financial secretary! So careful of the spirit; so careless of forms; an itinerant preacher, scattering the seeds of truth and passing on — is not this the impression we have of him? A friend once remarked that the question of the Samaritan woman was a very justifiable one: "Art thou greater than our father Jacob, who gave us this well?" Jacob had founded an institution, one of the most important and beneficent possible in that climate; he had dug a well, where generations had slaked their thirst. Could the propagator of ideas do as solid service as that?

On the other hand, when we consider the historical effects of Christ's life, we are struck by the tremendous impulse to organization which inheres in the Christian movement. The progress of Christianity has been like the growth of the chambered nautilus, ever building more spacious mansions for the soul of humanity. Immediately after Christ's departure the church began to take shape and to give shape. It resisted successfully and almost with ease the violent shocks of external hostility and survived the more perilous convulsions of internal dissensions. It built up an organization, closely articulated, huge, magnificent,

aiming to embrace within it all the kingdoms of the world and all the relations of men; an edifice so colossal that it cast a spell upon the nations for centuries, and inspires with awe today all who really measure its gigantic fragments. The Reformation, while it disrupted the outward unity of the great organization, only demonstrated the more the creative energy and versatility of the organizing impulse of Christianity. How prolific in new organizations has been the Christian life of our own century! Think of the foreign missionary work with its far-reaching agencies, sending around the globe the thrills of sympathy and helpfulness which usually, like gravitation, decrease as the square of the distance increases. Think of the societies for the distribution of the Bible and of Christian literature; the educational organizations and institutions; the organized expressions of Christian beneficence and charity; the Sunday school for the Christian nurture of children; the young people's societies for the training of riper youth. Anyone who is at all acquainted with the larger work of the Christian church can carry on the catalogue almost indefinitely. And most of these things are the contributions of the last two or three generations to the organization of Christianity. Much of what former generations have organized has become so completely a part of our social life that we hardly remember it ever had to be created. Certainly, if the vitality of any social force can be measured by the manifoldness of the organizations expressing it and the ease of producing them, Christianity has not spent itself.

It may justly be objected that this faculty of organizing is not wholly due to Christianity, but in part also to the peculiar genius of the Germanic nations, which are its chief bearers. But after all proper allowance has been made for that, impartial students of the history of society will, I think, agree that Christianity has everywhere carried with it a powerful social force, and that, in the measure in which this was set free, it not only acted as a ferment, but tended to create new forms of society and permanent institutions.

Now, would it not be strange if such an effect were wholly alien to Him who originated this force and whose spirit is still

its guide and renewer? Was Christ unaware of the social forces he set in motion? Or was he indifferent or hostile to organization? Did he make no attempt consciously to coördinate social units and to utilize the power of combination?

Organization is the process of creating a social organism. It consists of giving formal recognition to social relations already existing, and giving increased strength and durability by the recognition, or of creating new relations. Wherever isolated units are incorporated into a larger whole and are brought into stable relations of mutual service and common effectiveness, organization is going on, whether there is any voting and election of officers or not.

Jesus did create a social organism. It was small in size, but germs are measured not by size, but by their potential energy. An acorn is small, but there is an oak inside of it. The society created by Jesus had in it a power of expansion capable of overrunning the boundaries of nations, and a capacity for endurance outlasting empires. He deliberately created it. It was a bold stroke when he detached the apostles from their occupations, and even from their families, and attached them to himself. It is a very different thing to invite men into an organization that will leave them securely in their homes and simply exact a modicum of activity or sacrifice from them, and, on the other hand, to claim them entirely. Christ's action showed not only the self-confidence, but also the commanding will, of a great leader. We may presume that their selection also proved his practical sagacity and knowledge of men, which was so marked a quality in him. We do not know enough about the later activity of the Twelve to judge. It may well be that some of them were comparatively insignificant men, who relapsed into obscurity. But we can at least remember this in their favor, that in spite of hopes frustrated and bitter disenchantment, in the face of the hot antagonism of those whom from their childhood they had been taught to revere as their spiritual guides and superiors, they stood firmly by Jesus. The strange thing is, not that one betrayed him, but that eleven were faithful. It speaks well for the judgment of the leader who picked them,

and for the strength of the ties with which he bound them together.

In time the little group became differentiated. Certain men began to stand out by qualities which Jesus formulated in names that he applied to them. A kind of leadership was accorded to Peter. The common purse was managed by Judas, probably by virtue of the ability which afterward led him astray. A common thinking and feeling grew up. The great confession of Peter was so important because it expressed boldly the collective conviction of the Twelve. After the rude shock of Christ's death they promptly got together. They felt their common life. The church, too, expressed its sense of their organic unity by calling them "the Twelve" long after they were no longer twelve in number.

It was true organizing tact that Jesus did not content himself with scattered adherents and occasional influences, but gathered this definite group about him to serve as a nucleus for the collective life. But the society organized by Jesus was larger than the apostolic company. Luke tells of a wider circle of seventy who were fit to be sent out for work. Immediately after Christ's departure we find 120 together. Paul has an important notice of five hundred brethren to whom Jesus appeared at one time. How did they gather? Could they have been summoned to meet if there had not been some acquaintance and fellowship among the scattered disciples as such? The women were not counted among the twelve, nor among the seventy, though some of them traveled with the apostles and furnished part of the support. And women count for something in an organization, even when they are not formally counted in.

There are two items of information that possibly give a trace of the widespread connections maintained by Jesus as the center of an organization. Before the triumphal entry he sent two disciples for a colt which they would find tied in a certain place, and he gave them a kind of watchword which would secure the ready loan of the beast. Again, on the afternoon of the last day he sent Peter and John with orders to find a man with a water-jar at the entrance of the city and to follow him. Here, too, he

gave a definite formula which they were to repeat to the owner of the house to which he would lead them, and that would secure for them a room all prepared for the meal. It is possible to explain these two incidents on the score of the absolute foreknowledge of Jesus and by a miraculous influence which made these men willing to yield up their donkeys and houses to a stranger; but the simpler explanation is that it was a preconcerted arrangement with men whom Jesus knew as trustworthy and ready to serve him, but whom even the disciples did not know. In securing a place for a last undisturbed meeting of the disciples this was an excellent plan for throwing Judas off the scent, for, even if he asked the two messengers, they could not tell him where they were to meet that evening. If this interpretation is correct, it gives us a glimpse of the larger circle and a very interesting insight into the minor methods employed by Jesus and into his attention to details. We must bear in mind that the oral tradition would naturally preserve mainly such events as were connected with the apostles, for they were the chief feeders of the tradition. On the other hand, the great number of lesser disciples would fade from view like the details in an old painting which is growing dark with age.

Jesus showed the high character of his organizing work by the attention which he gave to the education of his followers. As Bengel says: "The apostles were a traveling college." Just as Socrates walked about Athens with his pupils, discussing whatever he ran against, so Jesus went about Galilee, saying and doing what God's opportunities called for. And in this work he consciously drew them out. He opened the inner meaning of incidents to them; he discussed taxation with Peter; he had them organize the hungry multitude into squads and feed them. The patience with which he developed their rudimentary spiritual understanding shows the true leader of men. The small leader always puts his trust in machinery and manipulation, and is disconcerted and amazed when some great idea sweeps the board clean of him and his plans. The great leader knows the power of ideas; he knows that all enduring social structures will have to be reared on that impalpable foundation

of the spirit. Jesus turned his back on the Jewish Messianic revolt, partly because it planned to use the hiltless sword of violence ; but partly, too, because he saw that nothing new could be produced by merely stirring the old potsherds with an iron rod. They wanted the new body of a great national life, but they had no new soul to breathe into it. Jesus brought the new spirit with him and patiently instilled it into a small group, knowing that it would spread. He consciously adopted in his methods of propaganda the laws of organic growth which he formulated in the parables in opposition to the thunderclap theories of his millennarian contemporaries.

It was probably part of the educational plan of Jesus that he sent the apostles out for a brief missionary campaign. *Docendo discimus.* It compelled them to pass from thought to action; it translated them from the passive to the active. The address with which he sent them out has probably been expanded by the insertion of sayings spoken on other occasions, but we have the substance of it in Matth. 10:5–16. An analysis of these instructions throws light on his organizing sagacity. (1) He wisely limited the scope of their activity to Jewish territory, thus keeping them on familiar ground and in their accustomed religious atmosphere. (2) He gave them a motto, a cry, brief, direct, earnest: "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." (3) He bade them not only talk, but act. (4) He took precautions lest their motives become debased by forbidding them to accept any pecuniary reward. They were to take nothing ; they were even to have nothing, except the absolutely needful. (5) They were to live on the territory of their operations, expecting food from those whom they fed. No anxious commissariat to impede this flying column. (6) They were to look up the worthiest household in every village and enter into friendly relations with it, if possible. Thus their influence would not be restricted to formal public addresses, but would work quietly along the lines of personal intercourse and friendship. The influence possessed by the family of their host would in a measure be put at their disposal as a moral capital with which they could begin. (7) If they were not received, they were to pronounce judgment and dis-

claim responsibility by shaking the dust from their feet, an act which could not fail to overcome the disheartenment of failure, and renew their consciousness of authority. Do not these instructions, in mapping out the lines of their conduct, testify to his knowledge of the practical workings of human life, and is not this organizing work?

This is especially true of his arrangement that they were to go two by two. For raw and untried men nothing would be so helpful to keep up their courage and purpose and to balance their wisdom. A solitary man, watched only by his own conscience, will permit himself sloth and cowardice, which even a single companion, to whom he is united in the consciousness of a high aim, will not permit. The bracing effects of such companionship is especially valuable when a man faces hostility. If a man has ever preached unpalatable truth to a critical audience, he will remember how it stiffened his back to have on the platform even a single man who believed in the same truth. Possibly it may be a trace of the effectiveness of this simple organization that in the lists of the Twelve an arrangement by couples is still discernible, so that perhaps this first common work created ties between the men, so lasting that the memory of them was perpetuated in tradition.

One of Christ's qualities of leadership is found in his combination of progress with conservatism, of daring innovation and reconstruction with loving preservation of the past. He felt the insufficiency of the existing moral law, yet he denied any destructive purpose. He expected the abolition of the temple worship and of religious ceremonial, yet he did not bid men cease from them. His remark about the law of divorce and the accommodation of the ideally right to the practical possibilities of the age shows the kind of historical sense which comes to men of ideal aspirations only through the experiences of practical leadership. Schäffle says: "An idealist who is thousands of years ahead of his times cannot carry the people with him. There is a limit to the elasticity of social conditions at any given time, and the idealism of that time cannot stretch them at will."[1]

[1] *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers*, Vol. I, p. 603.

But in Christ we have an idealism so far ahead of his time that it is still unexhausted, and in some respects is only now beginning to be understood. Yet he was an efficient leader and brought motives to bear on men which moved and mastered them.

For one thing, he did not offer exclusively spiritual motives or demand absolute unselfishness. He did demand that a man sink his personality in the work for the kingdom, but he promised that in the attainment of that aim the full satisfaction of our personal life would be included. He demanded that, if necessary, a man forsake father and brother and home, but he promised a hundredfold compensation in the love of the Christian community.

He combines the inward and outward in a larger harmony. The two most characteristic features of the apostolic church were the interchange of spiritual gifts, and the common meal. The spiritual *koinonia* alone would have made it merely a new religion; the double fellowship made it a new society, which is more. But this double fellowship was part of their inheritance from Jesus. "The son of man came eating and drinking," was his own characterization of his life as distinguished from John's. Some called him a glutton and wine-bibber. The Pharisees and the disciples of John were puzzled by the fact that he and his disciples did not fast. Jesus replied that fasting would not be consonant with the spirit prevailing in the company; the time might come when fasting would fitly express their dejection; but as yet the bridegroom was with them, and they kept the marriage feast. This characterizes the joyous feeling that prevailed with them, and this feeling was connected with their common meals. After his resurrection he was recognized when he broke the bread. He had done it so often that his manner in that was unmistakable. In John's account of the manifestation by the sea there is another mention of a meal and an invitation to it. When he spoke of the kingdom in its fulfilment, he pictured it as a sitting at meat with the patriarchs. His last meeting with the disciples was about the table, and there, too, he spoke of drinking the fruit of the vine anew with them in the

Father's kingdom. All this is of great importance in determining what kind of life Christ came to establish on earth; it is also important in tracing the means by which he bound the disciples to himself and to one another.

The institution of the ordinances is another illustration of this combination of the inward and outward in which his organizing ability is revealed. The new worship was to be spiritual, not bound to place or form, but dependent only on the spirit of the worshiper. Yet he instituted two forms, the one marking the entrance into the new fellowship, the other the continuance in it, each setting forth in impressive symbolism the essential quality of the act or condition demanded. Yet each of the two acts is extremely simple, constructed of the plainest elements. The fact that one who lived the untrammeled life of the spirit himself should institute any forms at all, and the fact that these forms are so few, so simple, so natural, and so expressive, are also evidences of his knowledge of human nature and of his ability to give form and body to spiritual forces.

Jesus was in truth an organizer of men. He knew human nature and met its needs. He knew individual men in their actual faultiness and possible strength. He had faith in them; he put love into them; and he got the best out of them that was in them. He had a great ideal, the sublimest and most comprehensive possible to man—the kingdom of God. By the power of ideas, by the realizing force of faith, and by the authority of his personality he made that ideal a living energy in the midst of our sordid earthly materialism. He consciously drew men together, patiently developed homogeneity of thought and feeling, created a collective consciousness, united them in obedience to a common conception of righteousness and in a common love of the brethren, and so called into life a new social organism, with a passionate heart-beat that was heard by God and was to be heard by humanity. That organism proved its strength by outliving the severest shock, when he was cut off from it. It has since developed in ways undreamed of by its enemies and by its friends. Its life grows richer, more extensive, more many-sided as the long century-days of humanity go

by. But all this life was in the germ, in the organism which he created, and to the great Initiator we render homage. It may be that in the days to come men will look back on much of the organizing work of which our age is proud, and recognize that it was not organizing, but disorganizing, a selfish misuse of social laws and forces destructive to the true social life, and that only the spirit of love which he brought has truly organized, working in patient agony and endless travail toward the true unity of the race, toward the creation of an *organon* for the will of God.

RECENT DISCUSSIONS OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

By Clyde W. Votaw,
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The chronological problems of the New Testament fall into three groups: those concerning the dates of the chief events in Jesus' career; those concerning the dates of the chief events during the generation or two following Jesus' death, the so-called apostolic age; and those concerning the dates of the composition of the several New Testament books. In and throughout all three groups a disheartening uncertainty prevails in the matter of precise dates. This fact has always been recognized by Christian scholars. Eusebius begins his famous *Chronicle* with a warning to the reader not to expect too great accuracy in the chronological tables which he is about to present, for he thinks that Jesus' words, "It is not for you to know the times and seasons," are applicable not only to eschatological events, but also to the knowledge of all times and seasons. We have reason to sympathize with his feeling, if not with his exegesis. Here, as elsewhere, appears the economy of Providence, by which we have only those things absolutely necessary to us, not to any considerable extent those things which in addition we should like to have. However hopeless the task, the chronological problems of the New Testament are not allowed to rest unsolved, but continue to be a subject of unwearying investigation.

So it cannot be a matter of surprise that in the past few years the discussion of New Testament chronology has been renewed, especially as concerns the dates of the chief events in the apostolic age. Distinguished New Testament scholars in Germany and America have invited us to give over the current scheme of dates for the history recorded in Acts, and to return to a set of dates which has always had some, but not a majority, of advocates, and which we were coming to think would not be revived. According to this reinstated chronology, Paul's arrest at Jerusalem and first Roman imprisonment are placed four or five years earlier than the dates to which we had become accus-

tomed to assign them, and nearly all of the preceding events are placed correspondingly earlier. The prominent recent advocates of this revived chronology are Oskar Holtzmann in his *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (1895); Blass, in his *Acta Apostolorum* (1895); Harnack, in his *Chronologie, etc.* (1895), and McGiffert, in his *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* (1897). Evidently the subject must be reconsidered with great care, and already many scholars have entered into the renewed discussion. The accompanying chart will illustrate the problem and exhibit the varying recent opinions concerning it.

The whole problem turns about a single point in the history, namely, the removal of the prisoner Paul from Cæsarea to Rome. From this event are dated the events which precede and follow it in the apostolic age, on the basis of intervals definitely or indefinitely stated in the book of Acts and the Galatian epistle. Specific dates are not found in the book of Acts; there is found only the time relation of certain events to certain other events, and even this much information is not often exactly given. So the removal of Paul to Rome cannot be assigned to a specific date on the information contained in the Acts, and in no other first century history is the event itself mentioned. Its date can only be obtained, therefore, if at all, by a combination of data gleaned from two or more of the first century historians. According to the Acts account, Paul's removal took place in the autumn of the year (*cf.* Acts 27 : 7, 9), and followed within a short period (not less than a month, and presumably not more than a few months, *cf.* Acts 25 : 1, 6, 13, 23; 27 : 1) the arrival in Judea of the new procurator, Festus. Then, if we can ascertain the date of the arrival of Festus in Judea, we can determine pretty closely the date of Paul's removal to Rome. The interval which elapsed between the actual appointment of Festus as procurator and his arrival in Judea to assume control is a period to be determined. Upon the date of Felix' removal and Festus' accession the accounts of Tacitus and Josephus, when read each in the light of the other, disagree by several years. And, making matters still worse, the Eusebian *Chronicle* presents a third date, different from both, a year later than Tacitus and several years earlier than that of Josephus. The current date is that derived from Josephus. Harnack and Blass follow Eusebius; Holtzmann and McGiffert follow Tacitus.

The purpose of this writing is not to engage in the discussion, but to indicate the motives of those who advocate the revived chronology,

RECENT CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEMES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

Supplemental to the chronological chart accompanying all editions of Meyer's *Commentary on Acts*, and to that contained in an appendix to Farrar's *Life and Work of St. Paul.*

Events	Lewin, 1865	Weizsäcker, 1886	Wendt,[1] 1888	Oskar Holtzmann,[3] 1895	Blass, 1895	Harnack, 1895	Ramsay,[5] 1896	McGiffert, 1897
Death of Jesus	33	30	c. 30	29[4]	29	29 or 30	30	c. 30
Conversion of Paul	37	35	34 or 35	29	30?	30 (33?)	33	31 or 32
Paul's first visit to Jerusalem	39	38	37 (38)	32	33		35?	34 or 35
Death of Herod Agrippa I	44	44	44		44	44	44	44
Paul's second visit to Jerusalem	44						45–46	
Paul's first missionary journey	45–46		bet. 45–50	46 aft. Conf.	45–46		47–49	before 45
Jerusalem conference	48	52	51 (52)	46	47	47 (46)	49	45 or 46
Paul's second missionary journey	49–53		51–54 (52–55)	47–49	48–50	47–50 (46–49)	50–53	46–49
Paul's third missionary journey	53–58		54–58 (55–59)	50–53	50–54	50–54 (49–53)	53–57	49–52
Arrest of Paul at Jerusalem	58	59 or later	58 (59)	53	54	54 (53)	57	53
Removal of Paul to Rome	60	61	60 (61)	55	56	56 (55)	59	55
Roman captivity of Paul	61–63	62–64	61–63 (62–64)	56–58	57–59	57–59 (56–58)	60–62	56–58
Release and second captivity	Yes	prob. not	prob. not	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Death of Paul	66	bet. 64–67	64[2]	64	(67 or 68?)	64	c. 67[6]	58

[1] Similarly, Conybeare and Howson (1850–52), Lightfoot (1863–5), and Schürer (1890).
[2] Jülicher, Wieseler, and Hausrath also put Paul's death in 64, at end of first imprisonment.
[3] Similarly, Bengel (1741), Süskind (1831), Rettig (*c.* 1833), Kellner (1888), and von Weber (1889), besides those named above.
[4] Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.*, 8) places the crucifixion of Jesus in A. D. 29.
[5] From *Expositor*, V, iii, 336–45, differing slightly from the dates in *St. Paul, the Traveler.*
[6] Spitta and Zahn hold to a release and second imprisonment of Paul, with death in 66 or 67.

its possible harmony with the historical material in Acts and Galatians, the vital points of the problem, and the gains or losses which would follow upon the adoption of this scheme of earlier dates.

I.

What has caused this departure from the current view on the part of some of our foremost New Testament scholars?

Holtzmann advocates the scheme of earlier dates on the ground that Tacitus' date for the removal of Felix, as determined by Josephus' own statement, is more trustworthy than Josephus' date for the removal, Josephus' account not being consistent with itself. Holtzmann does not mention the date given by the Eusebian *Chronicle.*

Blass bases his acceptance of the earlier dates upon the date given by the Eusebian *Chronicle* for the removal of Felix and the appointment of Festus, and holds that the account of Tacitus, which supports the earlier dates, is more trustworthy than that of Josephus. Further, he argues: "We know that Nero directed against the Christians all the hatred and blame of that conflagration which devastated Rome in July, 64, for the reason that the people were hostile to them because of their *flagitia.* But in the epistle which Paul sent from Rome to the Philippian church, fully a year after his arrival, there is assuredly no indication of this popular hatred, for all things seem tranquil, and he writes that the Christian religion was gaining adherents, that it became better and better known, and that he himself, although prepared for all things (Phil. 1 : 20; 2 : 17), yet was confident that he would be set free (1 : 25; 2 : 24). Is it credible that there could so soon have arisen an animadversion so fierce against the new sect as they attribute to it who hold that Paul came to Rome in 61 or 62, or even 63? Certainly some time must be allowed, first, for the Christians to have multiplied greatly, and to have become known to the people of Rome; secondly, for the hatred of the populace to be aroused against them."

Harnack, writing two years later than Holtzmann and Blass, takes the Eusebian date as determinative. Only very strong reasons should lead us to abandon this date, he says, and there are no such reasons. The Tacitus account, although it has to be corrected to agree with the Eusebian account, is preferred as against the Josephus account. The arguments of Schürer, who in 1890, in his *Jewish People in the Time of Christ,* had supported the Josephus account against Tacitus, Harnack refutes at length.

Finally, McGiffert, writing last of the four, but not having

Harnack's work, accepts the earlier dates on the basis of the Tacitus account, for three reasons: (1) because he thinks it more trustworthy than Josephus' account; (2) because he has decided on other grounds that the Jerusalem conference came in 45 or 46, and the events in the Acts subsequent to the conference and previous to the Jerusalem arrest of Paul cannot well occupy more than seven or eight years; (3) because he understands that Peter died in the Neronian persecution of 64, and yet previous to that date he must have worked several years in Rome, or the tradition of his connection with that city cannot be explained.[1] McGiffert does not mention the date given by the Eusebian *Chronicle*.

Summing up, then, the reasons given by these scholars for their adherence to the scheme of earlier dates, they are: (1) that the Tacitus account, which supports it, is more trustworthy than the Josephus account, which opposes it (so Holtzmann, Blass, Harnack, McGiffert); (2) that the Eusebian *Chronicle* supports the earlier dates (so Blass, Harnack); (3) that several years' time is required, subsequent to Paul's first imprisonment, for the change of sentiment in Rome against the Christians which manifested itself in 64 (so Blass); (4) that several years' time is required, subsequent to Paul's stay in Rome, for Peter's work in that city, which has left so great an impress upon the Christian history (so McGiffert); (5) that on other grounds the Jerusalem conference must be assigned to 45 or 46, and this draws back the subsequent events to the earlier dates (so McGiffert).

[1] This last argument Professor McGiffert presented in detail in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, Vol. I, No. 1, where he says: "The prevalent opinion is that Peter did not reach Rome until after the close of Paul's two-years' imprisonment, which is commonly put into the year 63 or 64, and that he died in the persecution of Nero, which occurred in the summer or fall of 64. This leaves at most but a single year for Peter's residence in the city. But it must be confessed that it is very difficult, if he was there so short a time, to account for the early and widespread tradition that he was bishop of the church of Rome for many years; and still more difficult to explain the fact that in the memory of that church his figure overshadowed Paul's from an early day. Dogmatic considerations undoubtedly had much to do with the growth of Peter's reputation and authority, but dogmatic considerations do not alone account for it. Long before the Christian world had assigned him an official preëminence in the apostolic college, he was honored as the founder of the Roman church, and it must be evident to every careful student of primitive Christianity that the subsequent history of that church remains a mystery, unless some commanding figure, animated with the conciliatory and practical spirit which we know Peter possessed, and representing quite another type of Christianity, made his influence powerfully felt in its early development."

II.

But can the events of the apostolic age, as recorded in the Acts, be brought satisfactorily within this earlier set of dates? If we move back the Jerusalem arrest of Paul to 53 or 54, making it, therefore, four or five years earlier than the date to which it is customarily assigned, is it possible to adjust the previous history to the change?

All agree that Paul's second and third missionary journeys together occupy about seven or eight years, since the periods are sufficiently noted in the Acts. Placing the Jerusalem arrest in 54 or 53 would throw the conference of Acts 15 back to 47 or 46. The only questions which have arisen at this point are two: (1) This arrangement would bring Claudius' expulsion of the Jews from Rome within the years 47 to 49, for it was shortly after this edict that Paul reached Corinth on his second journey, where he found Aquila and Priscilla, who had lately arrived there, being driven from Rome by the measure (*cf.* Acts 18 : 2). The year 49 is the date to which Orosius (*Hist.*, vii, 6) assigns the edict, a date which Blass thinks he had on good authority, and which Holtzmann shows agrees with the shifting attitude of Claudius toward the Jews. There is no objection to this earlier date for Claudius' edict. (2) It was during or at the close of this eighteen-months' stay of Paul in Corinth that Gallio was proconsul of Achaia (*cf.* Acts 18 : 12), so that Gallio's proconsulship must have begun in 49 or 50. To this the only objector has been Professor Ramsay (*Expositor*, March, 1897), who closes his discussion with the words: "The facts with regard to Gallio, though not favorable to the Eusebian dating, are capable of being explained away." It may then be said that there is nothing which forbids the assignment of the Jerusalem conference to the year 47 or 46.

Going back a step farther, the death of Herod Agrippa I is placed by all in the year 44. The famine (Acts 11 : 28) is placed by almost everyone in 44 or 45, the latter year being now preferred. Between the famine and the conference lies a year or two, which is sufficient for the first missionary journey of Paul.

The next date to investigate is that of Paul's conversion to Christianity. For this determination the only data are given in the Galatian epistle (1 : 18; 2 : 1), where two periods are mentioned, one of three years and one of fourteen years, between his conversion and the Jerusalem meeting with the apostles. The general judgment identifies this meeting of Gal. 2 : 1–10 with the conference recorded in Acts 15;

Professor Ramsay's arguments against this identification have not caused any considerable change of opinion. Then with the Jerusalem conference in 47 or 46, three years plus fourteen years would carry us back to 30 or 29 for the conversion of Paul, that is, into the same year with Jesus' crucifixion, which we now commonly assign to the year 30, although it may have been in 29, as was held by Tertullian about 200 A. D. But this reckoning is not so simple as it seems, for in the first place it is possible (not the more probable view) that the three-year period is to be included within the fourteen-year period, *both* periods starting from the conversion. By that interpretation of the language we would place the conversion in 33 or 32. In the second place, the then current mode of reckoning included any portion of a year as an additional year in giving a number of years. So that "three years" might be three full years, or only one full year with small portions of two others, in all not more than a year and a half; and "fourteen years" might signify a period which, in fact, was not more than twelve and one-half years. The seventeen-year period, therefore, is not necessarily longer than fourteen years, and the fourteen-year period (taken as including the three-year period) is not necessarily more than twelve years and a few months. This leaves a variable time of nearly five years. If the Jerusalem conference is placed in 47 or 46, the conversion of Paul may fall anywhere between 29 and 35.

From this it may be seen that the assignment of Paul's conversion to 30 or 29 is not at all an essential feature of the scheme of earlier dates, although as a matter of fact Holtzmann places the conversion in 29, Blass apparently in 30, Harnack in 30, and McGiffert in 31 or 32. This compresses the events recorded in Acts 1–8 into a period which, at the shortest, may be some six months, and from there up to a year or two. To this shorter time for the first eight chapters of Acts we are not accustomed, and yet no valid objection can be urged against it. The thing to be noted in this connection is that this shortening is not required by placing Paul's arrest in 53 or 54 A. D.

In the same way we find no determining factor for the problem in the Arabian occupation of Damascus mentioned in 2 Cor. 11 : 32, which is supposed to record the same event as Acts 9 : 25. Schürer has argued that this datum does not allow the conversion of Paul to be earlier than 35, or possibly 34. But it is denied by Holtzmann, Blass, Harnack, McGiffert, Wendt, and others, that this allusion determines anything chronologically concerning the date of Paul's conversion.

The absence of Damascus coins bearing the image of Tiberius after 33–34, or of any Roman emperor for some 25 or 30 years, which Schürer notes, must be considered, yet it has not recently been accounted as having a determinative significance. But whichever view is taken of this historical item, it does not invalidate the scheme of earlier dates, since that scheme admits of a date for Paul's conversion consonant with either interpretation of the Damascus occupation by Aretas.

On the whole, then, though some features of the Acts history might be accounted somewhat unfavorable to the revived chronology, there is certainly nothing which forbids it.

[To be concluded in the March number.]

THE HISTORY OF NEW TESTAMENT TIMES IN PALESTINE.

An Outline for Study, with Selected Bibliography and References for Reading.

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PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

SMITH, *Dictionary of the Bible*, article Palestine; HAUSRATH, *History of New Testament Times;* GEIKIE, *The Holy Land and the Bible;* STANLEY, *Sinai and Palestine;* ROBINSON, *Biblical Researches in Palestine; Physical Geography of the Holy Land;* SMITH, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land;* THOMPSON, *The Land and the Book;* CONDER, *Tentwork in Palestine;* SAUNDERS, *Introduction to the Survey of Western Palestine;* TRISTRAM, *The Land of Israel; Topography of the Holy Land;* RITTER, *Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula;* MERRILL, *East of the Jordan;* OLIPHANT, *The Land of Gilead;* Handbooks of Baedeker and Murray; the Publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund (Summary in *Thirty Years' Work in the Holy Land*); *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins.*

Maps.—VELDE; CLARK, Bible Atlas; KIEPERT, Bibelatlas; MENKE, Bibelatlas; Palestine Exploration Fund; MACCOUN, *The Holy Land in History and Geography.*

§ 1. I. PALESTINE.

SMITH, 3–5, 45–90; RIGGS, *Studies in Palestinian Geography*, BIBLICAL WORLD, Vols. IV, V; STANLEY, 175–224.

1. Names. 2. Extent. 3. Physical characteristics. 4. Chief physical divisions: *a*) the Maritime Plain; *b*) the Central Range; *c*) the Jordan Valley; *d*) the Eastern Range. 5. Climate and economic conditions.

§ 2. II. HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY.

SMITH, 5–41; STAPFER, 31–67; HENDERSON, *Palestine*, 149–69.

1. The location of Palestine historically considered. 2. Chief local associations. 3. Chief political divisions in the time of Christ.

§ 3. III. THE INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

Dictionary of the Bible; MERRILL, *Galilee in the Time of Christ*, 17–27, 48–81; SMITH, 297–320, 323–41, 413–35; BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 56–83.

1. Original. 2. Jews. 3. Samaritans. 4. Galileans. 5. The influence of Palestine on its inhabitants.

§ 4. IV. THE SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.

SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. I, Vol. I, 35–166; O. HOLTZMANN, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 10–56; MIELZINER, *Introduction to the Talmud;* MADDEN, *Coins of the Jews;* BLOCH, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus.*

1. 1 and 2 Maccabees. 2. Flavius Josephus. 3. Philo. 4. Apocalyptic writings. 5. Poetical literature. 6. The Mishna. 7. Numismatics.

PART II.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF PALESTINE, 175 B. C. TO 70 A. D.

I.

THE MACCABEES.

1 and 2 Maccabees; JOSEPHUS, *Antiquities of the Jews*, xii–xiv, 4; STANLEY, *History of the Jewish Church* [III], lectures 48, 49; RENAN, *History of the People of Israel*, Vols. IV, V; HAUSRATH, *History of the New Testament Times*, Pt. 1, Div. IV; SCHÜRER, *The Jewish People in the Times of Jesus Christ*, Div. I, Vol. I, 186–325; WADDY-MOSS, *From Malachi to Matthew*, chaps. 5–13; EWALD, *History of Israel*, Vol. V, 286–399; GRAETZ, *History of the Jews*, Vol. I, chaps. 22–4, Vol. II, chaps. 1–3; HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. II; CONDER, *Judas Maccabæus;* WEISSE, *Judas Makkabaeus;* DERENBOURG, *Essai sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine*, 59–112; WELLHAUSEN, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer;* Commentaries on the Books of the Maccabees by WACE, BISSELL, FAIRWEATHER, and others.

§ 5. I. THE JEWS UNDER THE SELEUCIDÆ.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xii, 1–4. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. I, 186–99; GRAETZ, Vol. I, 434–56; EWALD, Vol. V, 256–306.

1. Alexander the Great. 2. Palestine subject to Syria. 3. The rise of Hellenistic influences. 4. The two tendencies among the Jews.

§ 6. II. ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, AND THE REVOLT OF THE PIOUS.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xii, 5–7; 1 Macc. 1–4; 2 Macc. 4–11. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. I, 199–212; GRAETZ, Vol. I, 457–87.

1. The policy of Antiochus (IV) Epiphanes. 2. The decline of the high-priesthood. 3. The plundering of Jerusalem. 4. The desecration of the temple, and the anti-Judaistic legislation. 5. The crisis. 6. The uprising of Mattathias and the Pious. 6. The beginnings of the struggle.

§ 7. III. JUDAS MACCABÆUS (165–61) AND THE REËSTABLISHMENT OF RELIGIOUS INDEPENDENCE.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xii, 8–11; 1 Macc. 5–9, 22; 2 Macc. 12–15. SCHÜRER, Div. I, 212–33; GRAETZ, Vol. I, 487–505; EWALD, Vol. V, 306–23.

1. The man. 2. The first battles. 3. The reëstablishment of temple worship. 4. The beginnings at reconstructing the Jewish state. 5. The establishment of religious independence and the defeat of the Hellenistic party. 7. The supremacy and fall of Judas.

§ 8. IV. JONATHAN (161–43) AND THE BEGINNINGS OF NATIONALITY.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xiii, 1–6; 1 Macc. 9:23—10:20. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. I, 234–54; GRAETZ, Vol. I, 505–20; EWALD, Vol. V, 324–34.

1. The Jewish party after the death of Judas. 2. Complications in Syrian politics favor Jonathan. 3. The new theocracy (153). 4. Foreign relations of the new dynasty. 5. The new phase in Jewish history. 6. The death of Jonathan.

§ 9. V. SIMON (142–35) AND PRACTICAL INDEPENDENCE.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xiii, 6, 7; 1 Macc. 13:31—16:22. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. I, I, 255–71; EWALD, Vol. V, 334–2; GRAETZ, Vol. I, 521–51.

1. The significance of Simon. 2. The release from tribute to Syria (143–2). 3. The organization of the Jewish state. 4. National prosperity. 5. The nation at his death.

§ 10. VI. JOHN HYRCANUS (135–105) AND COMPLETE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xiii, 8–10. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. I, 272–90; EWALD, Vol. V, 342–84; GRAETZ, Vol. II, 1–34.

1. Initial difficulties of his reign. 2. The interference of Rome. 3. The period of conquest. 4. Rise of Pharisees and Sadducees. 5. Change in party alliance by John. 6. The state at his death.

§ 11. VII. THE LATER MACCABEES.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xiii, 11–16. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. I, 290–312; EWALD. Vol. V, 385–93; GRAETZ, Vol. II, 35–56.

1. Aristobulus I and Antigonus I (105–4). 2. Alexander Jannaeus (104–78) and civil dissensions. 3. Alexandra (78–69).

§ 12. VIII. THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xiv, 1–4; *Wars*, i, 7:3–5. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. I, 313–25; EWALD, Vol. V, 394–9; GRAETZ, Vol. II, 57–77.

1. Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II (69–63). 2. The decision of Scaurus. 3. The decision of Pompey. 4. The capture of Jerusalem. 5. The new phase in Jewish history.

§ 13. IX. GENERAL VIEW OF THE MACCABEAN PERIOD.

1. General course of its history. 2. The character given to the

national spirit. 3. Its position in Jewish literary history. 4. Its influence upon the New Testament period proper.

II.

THE IDUMEANS.

SCHÜRER, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. I, Vol. I, 371–468; Vol. II, 1–105; GRAETZ, *History of the Jews*, Vol. II, chaps. 4–7; RENAN, *History of the People of Israel*, Vol. V; EWALD, *History of Israel*, Vols. V, VI; STANLEY, *History of the Jewish Church*, Vol. III; MORRISON, *The Jews under Roman Rule*; WADDY-MOSS, *From Malachi to Matthew;* HAUSRATH, *History of New Testament Times*, Pt. 1, Vol. II; MILMAN, *History of the Jews*, Books X–XVI; VICKERS, *History of Herod;* DE SAULCY, *Histoire d'Hérode;* LEWIN, *Fasti Sacri*, 8–54.

§ 14. I. HYRCANUS II.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xiv, 5–13; *Wars*, i, 8–13. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. I, 371–99; EWALD, Vol. V, 394–412; STANLEY, Vol. III, 408–21.

1. The first status of Hyrcanus II. 2. Antipater. 3. Charter of Julius Cæsar. 4. Rise of the family of Antipater. 5. Palestine during the civil wars. 6. Political end of Hyrcanus II.

§ 15. II. HEROD I AND THE CHANGE OF DYNASTY.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xiv, 4–16; *Wars*, i, 14–18. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. I, 392–9; EWALD, Vol. V, 411–16; GRAETZ, Vol. II, chaps. 4, 5; STANLEY, Vol. III, 419–23.

1. Antigonus and the Parthians. 2. Defeat of Hyrcanus II and his friends. 3. Herod's appeal and visit to Rome. 4. His appointment as king. 5. The defeat of Antigonus and the establishment of the Herodian family.

§ 16. III. THE REIGN OF HEROD I (37–4 B. C.).

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xv–xvii, 8; *Wars*, i, 18–33. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. I, 416–67; EWALD, Vol. V, 417–49; HAUSRATH, Pt. 1, Vol. I, 207—II, 60; STANLEY, chap. 50.

1. The man. 2. Position as *rex socius*. 3. The period of contest and consolidation. 4. The years of prosperity. 5. The period of tyranny. 6. General character and results of his reign. 7. His will.

§ 17. IV. ARCHELAUS (4 B. C.–6 A. D.).

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xvii, 9—xviii, 1–4, 8; *Wars*, ii, 1–10. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. II, 1–9, 38–43; EWALD, Vol. V, 449–57; GRAETZ, Vol. II, 118–28; HAUSRATH, Pt. 1, Vol. II, 67–70.

1. Disturbances after Herod's death. 2. The decision of Augustus. 3. The character of Archelaus. 4. Character of his reign.

§ 18. V. HEROD ANTIPAS (4 B. C.–39 A. D.).

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xviii, 2:1, 3; 4:5; 5:1–3; 7:1–12; *Wars*, ii, 9:1, 6. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. II, 17–38; EWALD, Vol. VI, 74–81; HAUSRATH, Pt. 1, Vol. II, 63–7.

1. His territory. 2. General character of his reign. 3. Domestic matters. 4. Fall.

NOTE.—John the Baptist in JOSEPHUS (*Ant.*, xviii, 5), and the gospels (Mark 6:14–28; Matt. 14:1–11; Luke 3:19 *seq.*, 9:7–9; 13:31; 23:7–12).

§ 19. VI. PHILIP (4 B. C.–34 A. D.).

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xviii, 2:1; 4:6; 6:10; *Wars*, ii, 9:1–6. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. II, 10–16; EWALD, Vol. VI, 71–4; HAUSRATH, Pt. 1, Vol. II, 61–3.

1. His territory. 2. General character of his reign.

III.

THE ROMANS.

SCHÜRER, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Div. I, Vol. II, 150–321; MOMMSEN, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Vol. II, chap. 2; *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Vol. I, 392 *seq.*; ARNOLD, *Roman Provincial Administration*; KELLNER, *Die kaiserlichen Procuratoren von Judäa* (*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 1888, 630 *seq.*); EWALD, Vol. VII, *History of Israel*; MORRISON, *The Jews under Roman Rule*; HAUSRATH, *The History of New Testament Times*, Pt. 2; MILMAN, *The History of the Jews*; LEWIN, *The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*; DE SAULCY, *Les derniers jours de Jérusalem*.

§ 20. I. THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF JUDEA.

SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. II, 43–79; MOMMSEN, Vol. II, chap. 2; MOREY, *Rome and the Provinces*.

1. Roman provincial administration in general. 2. The relation of the tetrarchs to Rome. 3. The office of procurator. 4. Organization of Judea, with special consideration of taxation. 5. The powers granted the Sanhedrin. 6. Character of the administration of the procurators, 6–41 A. D. (Coponius, 6–9 (?); Marcus Ambivius, 9–12 (?); Annius Rufus, 12–15 (?); Valerius Gratus, 15–26; Pontius Pilate, 26–36; Marcellus, 36–7; Marullus, 37–41).

§ 21. II. HEROD AGRIPPA I (37–44).

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xviii, 6; xix, 5–9; *Wars*, ii, 9–11. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. II, 150–65; EWALD, Vol. VII, 236–47, 257–70; GRAETZ, Vol. II, 175–201.

1. Early life. 2. Made king. 3. Additions to his territory. 4. General character of his reign. 5. His death.

§ 22. III. HEROD AGRIPPA II (50–100).

SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. II, 191–206; GRAETZ, Vol. II, 234–8.

1 Early life. 2. Made king. 3. His relations with the Jews.

§ 23. IV. ROMAN ADMINISTRATION (44–66).

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xx, 1, 5–11; *Wars*, ii, 11–14. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. II, 167–91; EWALD, Vol. VII, 412–26, 479–85.

1. General character of this period (Fadus, 44–? ; Alexander, ?–48 ; Cumanus, 48–52 ; Felix, 52–60 ; Festus, 60–2 ; Albinus, 62–4 ; Florus, 64–6). 2. Events leading to the outbreak in 66.

NOTE.—The dates of the succession of procurators, with special reference to administration of Felix. For the earlier dates : O. HOLTZMANN, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, 129–31; HARNACK, *Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, Vol. I; MCGIFFERT, *Apostolic Age*, 356–9. For dates here given (or approximately the same), SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. II, 182 *n.;* CONYBEARE and HOWSON, *Life of St. Paul.* See also criticism of earlier dates, RAMSAY, *Expositor*, March, 1897; CHRISTIE, *New World*, October, 1897; MATHEWS, BIBLICAL WORLD, November, 1897.

§ 24. V. THE FALL OF THE JEWISH STATE (66–70).

JOSEPHUS, *Wars*, ii, 14–vii; *Life*, iv–lxxiv. SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. II, 207–56; EWALD, Vol. VII, 486–616 ; MILMAN, bks. 14–17; GRAETZ, Vol. II, 238–314 ; HAUSRATH, Pt. 2, Vol. IV, 187–245.

1. The outbreak of the revolution. 2. The moderate revolutionists and the first struggles. 3. The war in Galilee. 4. The progress of the revolution in Jerusalem. 5. The capture of Jerusalem. 9. Last struggles. 7. Palestine after the revolution. 8. The significance of the new period to Judaism and Christianity.

[To be continued in March number.]

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

THE artist has translated the scene on the Galilean knoll into the quaint, unadorned art speech of the Rhine country, with its beautiful environment.

Christ is seated upon a moss-grown rock, and close behind him, partially hidden in a grove of trees, is a group of earnest, thoughtful disciples. In front of them, standing apart to the right, is an armored soldier and officer of mediæval days, the latter listening with a cynical, incredulous expression upon his face to what seems to him is such irrational teaching, so at variance with the old law of warfare, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

In the foreground some sheep feed contentedly, suggesting the richness of those "green pastures" satisfying the soul that liveth not by bread alone. Against a background of thick foliage the face of the Great Teacher stands out strong, helpful, persuasive, as with winning gesture he explains the precepts of the new kingdom and the character of its citizens to the mixed company semi-circled about him. Old men and maidens, young men and matrons, boys and girls (who in the beautiful thought of the artist have a large place in the kingdom), mothers with children in their arms, the village pastor, the scholar and professional man, peasants from the fields, the aged and infirm, a shepherd boy with his flock, and travelers diverted from their journey by the strange scene, listen with rapt attention to Him who "taught as one having authority, and not as the scribes."

The painter is the Düsseldorf artist Eduard von Gebhardt, and the original picture bears the date 1893. He belongs to the modern German realistic school. Two of his paintings, a noted "Last Supper" and an "Ascension," are in the National Gallery, Berlin. He is a modern Fra Angelico, who earnestly believes all he portrays and approaches his religious representations with reverent spirit and loftiest aim. His pictures are impressed with strong individuality, and, while one cannot always agree with him in his treatment of the theme, there is an earnestness and vigor about his work that attracts attention and makes it forceful and significant.

JOHN POWELL LENOX.

MATERIAL FROM ENGLISH LITERATURE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS.

I. OUR FATHER'S CARE. II. MATTHEW'S CALL. III. THE TWELVE SENT FORTH. IV. WARNING AND INVITATION

By PROFESSOR MYRA REYNOLDS, PH.D.,
The University of Chicago.

I. *Our Father's care.*—The first lesson in February has a twofold theme. Christ advises his followers to lay especial stress on such things as bear directly on the life and growth of the spirit, and he urges them not to be unduly burdened or anxious about temporal matters, and not to borrow trouble about the future, but to trust in their Heavenly Father's watch care. He uses the lilies and the birds as apt illustrations drawn from nature. Victor Hugo draws a similar lesson from the bird:

> Be like the bird, one instant lighted
> Upon a branch that swings,
> Who feels it give, but sings on unaffrighted,
> Knowing that she has wings.

This thought of trust finds expression also in Bryant's "Lines to a Waterfowl":

> He who, from zone to zone,
> Guides through the boundless sky thy certain flight,
> In the long way that I must tread alone,
> Will lead my steps aright.

There is most exquisite symbolism in the words of the lily of the valley in one of William Blake's poems:

> And I am very small, and love to dwell in lowly vales;
> So weak the gilded butterfly scarce perches on my head.
> Yet I am visited from heaven; and He that smiles on all
> Walks in the valley, and each morn over me spreads his hand,
> Saying, Rejoice, thou humble grass, thou new-born lily flower,
> Thou gentle maid of silent valleys and of modest brooks;
> For thou shalt be clothed in light and fed with morning manna.

The closing verse of this lesson gives wise practical advice as to the surest way of gaining serenity of life. In this connection is an epigram translated by Emerson from the French:

> Some of your hurts you have cured,
> And the sharpest you still have survived;
> But what torments of grief you endured
> From evils which never arrived!

Sidney Smith says that one remedy against melancholy and worry is to take short views of life:

> Are you happy now? Are you likely to remain so till this evening, or next month, or next year? Then why destroy your present happiness by a distant misery which may never come at all, or you may never live to see? For every substantial grief has twenty shadows, and most of them shadows of your own making.

A little poem by Mrs. M. F. Butts gives the same scheme of life:

> Build a little fence of trust around today.
> Fill the space with loving deeds, and therein stay,
> Look not thro' the sheltering bars upon tomorrow,
> God will help thee bear what comes, of joy or sorrow.

II. *Matthew's call.*—In this lesson we have one of the most interesting and critical situations prossible in a human life. Matthew must decide, at this moment, between the claims of his old, well-understood, fairly prosperous life and the new claims made upon him by the personality of Christ and all for which that personality stood. All of Matthew's past inner life contributed to his decision in this crisis moment, and all his future was determined by this decision. Browning dwells much upon these supreme moments. In "By the Fireside" he says:

> How the world is made for each of us!
> How all we perceive and know in it
> Tends to some moment's product thus,
> When a soul declares itself—to wit,
> By its fruit, the thing it does.
>
> I am named and known by that moment's feat;
> There took my station and degree.

In "Christine" he emphasizes the thought of the reality and importance of moments of insight:

> Oh, we're sunk enough, God knows!
> But not quite so sunk that moments,
> Sure, tho' seldom, are denied us
> When the spirit's true endowments
> Stand out plainly from its false ones,
> And apprise it if pursuing
> Or the right way or the wrong way,
> To its triumph or undoing.
>
> There are flashes struck from midnights,
> There are fire-flames noondays kindle,
> Whereby piled-up honours perish,
> Whereby swoln ambitions dwindle.

For other literary parallels of Matthew's decision to follow Christ at whatever cost compare Tennyson's "Gareth and Lynette," when Gareth says to his mother:

> Man am I grown, a man's work must I do.
> Follow the deer? Follow the Christ, the King.
> Live pure, speak true, right wrong, follow the King.
> Else, wherefore born?

See also Tennyson's "Merlin and the Gleam."

III. *The Twelve sent forth.*—In this lesson is Christ's sketch of what he thought a minister should be. The leading idea is that the men to be sent out had received much from Christ and should, therefore, be willing to spend lavishly of their time and strength and spiritual force in his service.

Lowell well describes those who go forth into an alien world with a new message as hermits

> of that loneliest solitude,
> The silent desert of a great new thought,

and comments on the "devilish subtleties of doubt" that press in upon souls so set apart.

Whittier's "The Voices" presents the difficulties and discouragements which the tempter suggests to the men who urge "the long unequal fight" against sin, scattering their lives as seed in a thankless soil.

Browning's "Two Camels" is a brief, trenchant allegory of two theories of service. Each camel dedicates himself "from hump to hoof" to his master's service. But just before a long journey over the sands one camel resolves to save his master all expenses, and so refuses the food with which his manger is crammed. This "too-abstemious brute" dies on the plains, and his pack is seized by thieves. The other camel rejoices in the crib piled high with provender; the liberal meal makes him ready for the journey, and he lets down his lading safely in the market-place.

How far the rules given by Christ to the Twelve were transgressed by their successors is shown by such studies as that of the sixteenth century bishop in Browning's "The Bishop Orders His Tomb at St. Praxed's Church," and by Chaucer's scathing satires on the churchmen of his day in his *Canterbury Tales*. As an offset to this his "Good Parson," in "The Prologue" to *The Canterbury Tales*, is one of the most beautiful characters in literature, So, too, later in the midst of the drinking, card-playing, fox-hunting parsons of the eighteenth century, we come upon a character so exceptionally pure, steadfast, and high-minded as Goldsmith's vicar of Wakefield. Still more attractive is Goldsmith's village preacher in "The Deserted Village."

In Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* the good bishop is another dramatically vivid and powerful picture of the servant of God who works in the exact spirit of his Master. Wordsworth's great poem "The Happy Warrior" represents a character that, with the change of a phrase or two, might well stand as the type of the ideal warrior in the kingdom of God. See also Matthew Arnold's picture of his father in "Rugby Chapel":

> But thou would'st not *alone*
> Be saved, my father! *alone*
> Conquer and come to thy goal,
> Leaving the rest in the wild.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> Therefore to thee it was given
> Many to save with thyself;
> And, at the end of thy day,
> O faithful shepherd! to come,
> Bringing thy sheep in thy hand.

and his description in "East London":

I met a preacher there I knew, and said:
"Ill and o'erwork'd, how fare you in this scene?"—
"Bravely," said he, "for I of late have been
Much cheer'd with thoughts of Christ, *the living bread.*"

IV. *Warning and invitation.*— It is the second portion of this theme that finds fullest response in literature. Giles Fletcher, in "Christ's Victory and Triumph," says of the power of Christ to fulfil all human need:

He is a path, if any be misled;
He is a robe, if any naked be;
If any chance to hunger, he is bread;
If any be a bondman, he is free;
If any be but weak, how strong is he!
To dead men life he is, to sick men health,
To blind men sight, and to the needy wealth;
A pleasure without loss, a treasure without stealth.

George Herbert has a quaint poem called "The Pulley," in which God is represented as pouring out on man all blessings, riches, strength, beauty, wisdom, honor, pleasure:

When almost all was out God made a stay,
Perceiving that, alone of all his treasure,
Rest in the bottom lay.

"For if I should," said he,
"Bestow this jewel also on my creature,
He would adore my gifts instead of me,
And rest in nature, not the God of nature;
So both should losers be.

"Yet let him keep the rest—
But keep them with repining restlessness;
Let him be rich and weary, that, at least,
If goodness lead him not, yet weariness
May toss him to my breast."

Rest is not quitting this busy career;
Rest is the fitting of self to its sphere.

'Tis the brook's motion—clear without strife,
Fleeting to ocean after this life.

'Tis loving and serving the highest and best;
'Tis onward unswerving—and this is true rest. —*Goethe.*

God's greatness flows around our incompleteness;
'Round our restlessness, His rest. —*Mrs. Browning.*

See also Newton's "Lord, I am Come," Darby's "O Eyes that are Weary, and Hearts that are Sore." Monsell's "Rest of the Weary, Joy of the Sad," Stone's "Weary of Earth and Laden with Sin," Mrs. Barbauld's "Come, Said Jesus' Sacred Voice," Moore's "Come, Ye Disconsolate," Hammond's "Cast Thy Burden on the Lord," Bonar's "Calm Me, God" and "I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say," and many others that might be named, indicate how strongly this passage of Scripture appeals to human needs.

The Council of Seventy.

The second annual meeting of the Council of Seventy was held at the University of Chicago, Friday afternoon and evening, January 14. The following members of the Council answered to the roll-call in person: Professors Bradley, Breasted, Burroughs, Burton, Crandall, S. I. Curtiss, Foster, Gates, W. R. Harper, Hayes, Mackenzie, Mathews, Price, Votaw, Zenos.

Judge Henry V. Freeman, a trustee of the Council, and several guests from the biblical departments of neighboring colleges were also present. The recorder reported fifty-three as the present membership of the Council. From those absent many letters of regret and messages of greeting and good wishes were read.

The president presented the report of the work of the Council for the year, giving items of interest concerning the work of individual members each in his own field, and in addition to regular professional teaching. As principal of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, the president also reported through statistics and comment the results of the work of that organization. It was stated that in the college field, aside from the thirty-six colleges enrolled in the prize examination contest, large use had been made of the Institute material for Bible class work in other institutions. The outline course had also been used extensively in the church, the home, the Young People's Society, and the mission field, proving itself universally adaptable. The membership in this department reached about four thousand. Mention was made of the introduction of the study in woman's clubs. Brief statements concerning the general prosperity of the work in the correspondence department and in the summer schools, of the courtesy of the religious press of the country, and of the plans for entering the home-study department in the Sunday school were made. The report closed with acknowledgments to the persons who had, by their contributions (amounting to $2,200), aided the organization during the year.

The annual report of the treasurer was presented by Professor Shailer Mathews, acting treasurer. It showed a successful financial year. Owing to the gifts of generous friends, the expenses of the year had been paid, and the deficit of the previous year reduced.

At the separate sessions which followed, Professor E. T. Harper was elected master of the Old Testament chamber; Dr. C. E. Crandall, scribe; Professor C. F. Bradley, master of the New Testament chamber;

Professor Shailer Mathews, scribe; President C. J. Little, master of the general chamber, and Professor G. B. Foster, scribe.

The following were elected to membership, provisional upon acceptance: Professors B. W. Bacon, of Yale University; M. D. Buell, of Boston University; E. P. Gould, Episcopal Divinity School, Philadelphia; W. H. Ryder, Andover Seminary; F. C. Porter, Yale; H. P. Smith, Amherst College; G. W. Gilmore, Bangor Theological Seminary; H. C. King, Oberlin; Kemper Fullerton, Lane Seminary; W. E. Griffis, Ithaca, N. Y.; Edmund Buckley, the University of Chicago.

Professor John Henry Barrows was elected president of the Council; Dr. C. W. Votaw, recorder, and Professor George H. Gilbert, treasurer. It is understood that President Harper retains the principalship of the Institute.

The committee appointed to investigate the teaching of the Bible in colleges made, through its chairman, Professor Gates, a most interesting and valuable report. The field had been well canvassed, and the report will be published at as early a date as possible. The statistics given, in the main, indicated that, while the Bible was very poorly taught, or entirely neglected, in a very large number of institutions, both the amount and quality of Bible teaching showed a most encouraging contrast with the conditions of a decade or more ago.

The committee which had been making a selection of books for the use of Bible students presented well-revised lists from the Old and the New Testament chambers. It was decided that, after further revision, these lists, each containing a popular section and a section for the benefit of those having a knowledge of the original tongues, should be published in uniform style, and that a further publication of the same lists, fully annotated, should follow in another year. A committee to perform the same service for the general chamber was appointed.

The last topic taken up by the Council was the question, "How can the Council, through the Institute, or otherwise, aid the Sunday school?'

Professor Ernest D. Burton spoke upon the urgent necessity for regular graded courses of study, and for trained teachers. Rev. W. F. McMillan, District Secretary of the Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, Chicago, at the request of the Council, presented the aims and methods of the Home-study Department, through which it was thought some assistance might be rendered.

The president of the Council was authorized to appoint a committee which should make a careful examination of all the material now published for study in the Sunday school; this committee to report at the next annual meeting. The Council adjourned at the close of the evening session. One of the pleasant social features of the occasion was the Council dinner partaken of in one of the University Halls.

Synopses of Important Articles.

Does a Literal Interpretation of the Song of Songs Remove its Character as Scripture? By Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss, D.D., in *The Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1898, pp. 53–91.

This question is asked because modern critics insist on a literal interpretation of this exquisite poem. While many saintly characters have adopted its glowing language to express their devotion and love to Christ, the ordinary reader is puzzled, in fact, finds no aid to devotion in the book. But must every book of the Bible subserve a devotional purpose? Is this fact to be a standard of canonicity? Paul evidently had no such standard in 2 Tim. 3 : 16, 17. What was the object of the writer of this book? Upon the answer to this question hangs the interpretation which we shall adopt. Three prominent theories of interpretation have been in vogue: (1) The allegorical, dominant since its reception in the canon. "This interpretation has no connection with the text except in the conceit of the interpreter." "The Christian allegorical method maintains that the bridegroom is Christ, and the bride is the church." No rules can be established to regulate such an interpretation. Usually, some hint is given when an allegory is intended (*cf.* Hosea 1 : 2 — 3; Ezek. 23 : 4; 16). (2) The typical—the modern orthodox interpretation. Typical interpreters find in the tender language of Solomon, the hero of the poem, and of Shulamith, its heroine, a type of Christ's love for the church, and of her communion with him. This is merely a theory, which can be applied to this book only by way of accommodation. To subject the entire book to such an interpretation would strand the interpreter long before he could reach the last chapter. (3) The third theory is that the book is just what it purports to be—a song of true love. It celebrates the victory of a simple Israelitish maiden over all the blandishments of Solomon, supported by all the arts of the women of his harem, who do all they can to arouse the lust of this pure maiden, whose heart is set on her shepherd lover who is ever present in thought. "The object of this poem is to glorify true love, the love of one man for one woman, to show that it is so holy

that no treasures on earth can buy it, not even a throne can tempt it." In form it is a drama, but not intended to be played. The divisions are not always clear, though, in the main, they can be perceived. The preferable date for the composition of this charming production is either during the life of Solomon or in the generation following his death. Its author was not Solomon, but some poet conversant with a maiden's heart, with nature in the field, and with the royal court.

"When we reflect upon the crimes and sorrows with which men and women have been visited because of the perversion of love, it certainly does not seem strange that there should be one book in the Old Testament which shows its true nature, teaching that all the real peace and happiness of those who submit to it is dependent upon mutual and worthy affection."

This is an eminently candid, sane, and level-headed treatment of this puzzling book. The author, treating it as a drama, gives us a translation, with a prose interpretation interspersed at intervals throughout the poem, emphasizing, as opportunity offers, the dominant teaching of the book. His view is substantially that of Ewald, Robertson Smith, Steckel, and most other literal interpreters.

PRICE.

LES PAROLES DE JÉSUS À CANA. Par M. BOURLIER. *Revue Biblique*, July, 1897, pp. 405–22.

Many attempts have been made to explain the words of Jesus to his mother at Cana. Typical renderings and interpretations of French exegetes are all unsatisfactory. The thought of Jesus is very simple. Mary has said to him: "They have not enough wine." Jesus answers: "Do not trouble me, my mother; the moment is not yet come." One is not compelled to think that Mary asked, even indirectly, a miracle. Jesus intends to perform a miracle and supply the wine; he will wait till the wine before supplied is completely exhausted, that the miracle may be more manifest and absolutely undeniable. This is the "hour" for which he waits. There is no solemn declaration of principles. Nor is there severity of any sort in his words, not even pretended reproach, in disclaiming action from any natural motive; this finds confirmation in Mary's words to the servants; Jesus' reply does not repulse her, but gives full assurance.

This interpretation is buttressed by an "analysis" of the Hebraisms of the text, the Latin translation for convenience being placed before the reader. 1. *Quid mihi et tibi est?* The literal translation in Latin or French does not give the sense. More energetic in the original,

like many French words once very expressive, but having now lost all their first force, it has become weakened. From "What have you to do with my affairs?" it has descended to "Don't trouble me," or "Let me alone." This loss of force is exhibited by citations from the Old Testament. It has not been duly considered by exegetes. 2. *Mulier.* The word "woman" as a vocative is used by biblical writers where we should say "madam" or "miss." In the gospels our Lord addresses various women thus. In the majority of passages it can be translated by "madam." Here it would be well rendered by "mother," "my mother," "dear mother," corresponding to modern usages which Jesus would adopt today. The genius of his national tongue would have forbidden any other form. 3. *Nondum venit hora mea. Hora* in such construction is illusive because of the difference of the genius of oriental and occidental languages. A comparison of Scripture texts has also favored this illusion; many passages in the New Testament, particularly the fourth gospel, use this phrase, and so many times is it connected historically with the last days of Jesus that exegetes have mistakenly given the sense of "final hour" to all analogous passages. It is absolutely certain that most of these texts do not refer to the final hour of Jesus, or anyone, but should be interpreted as referring simply to the moment for one to do something that concerns him. "My hour" of the episode at Cana signifies only the moment when Jesus will provide the necessary quantity of wine.

The *Revue Biblique* is a Roman Catholic publication, and this synopsis is offered, not because of any intrinsic merit in the article, but as perhaps fairly typical of the work of Romanist scholars along biblical lines. M. Bourlier evidently regards his essay as a distinct contribution for the better apprehension of Jesus' words, though it must be granted he offers it modestly and tentatively. He has doubtless examined only the work of French exegetes. He gives us practically nothing new; a "composite" from English and German writers—Alford, Dods, Maurice, Meyer, and others—would exhibit all the important points that M. Bourlier suggests.

E. D. V.

Work and Workers.

The agents and correspondents of the American Bible Society employed last year 382 men, each working on an average of more than eight months.

A *Sketch of Jewish History*, translated from the German of Dr. Gustav Karpeles, has just been sent out by the Jewish Publication Society of America.

Mr. Henry Frowde announces for early publication in America *The Bible References of John Ruskin*, selected and arranged by Misses Mary and Ellen Gibbs.

Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, of papyrus fame, have gone to Egypt again. They intend to make a more careful examination of the papyri left in the Gizeh Museum.

Professor R. G. Moulton's *Modern Reader's Bible* has reached the New Testament, of which the first volume, containing Matthew, Mark, and the general epistles, will soon appear.

Mr. George Henry Tomkins, whose work on *The Life and Times of Joseph* has been of such good service to students, has just put out another book, on *Abraham and his Age* (Eyre & Spottiswoode).

The Author marshals an imposing list of figures to exhibit the classes of new books of last year. Of the 1941 English books enumerated we find 221 credited to theological thought — not a poor showing.

The Græco-Roman branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund has met with great popular favor. It now looks as if the greater part of the 750 copies of Vol. I of the Oxyrhynchus papyri would be ordered in advance.

Aspects of the Old Testament is the title of the Bampton Lectures for 1897. Their author is Robert Lawrence Ottley, M.A., successively student of Christ Church and fellow of Magdalen College, sometime principal of Pusey House.

DURING the past sixteen years 171,000 copies of the Scriptures have been distributed in Asiatic Russia, through the efforts of the American Bible Society, while the number thus distributed in the whole empire is over half a million.

PROFESSOR JOSEPH SCHROEDER, lately of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., has been appointed by the Prussian minister of education and ecclesiastical affairs a member of the faculty of the Catholic Academy of Münster, Westphalia.

THE Jewish Chautauqua Society of Philadelphia sends us an interesting syllabus of a reading course in "Jewish History and Literature," covering the period of "The Crusades and the Spanish Era," and prepared under the direction of Professor Richard Gottheil, of Columbia University.

TWO BOOKS, with practically the same end in view, have just been issued on opposite sides of the Atlantic: on this side we have Crockett's *Harmony of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles* (Eaton & Mains, New York), and on the other side, *The Parallel History of the Jewish Monarchy* (C. J. Clay & Sons, London).

THOSE who are interested in the use of blackboard illustrations in Sunday-school work may be glad to know that the United Society of Christian Endeavorers has published a series of paper stencils by N. S. Greet. Anyone, no matter how little his skill in drawing, will be able by the use of these stencils to give a blackboard talk.

IN the Emmanuel Baptist Church, Albany, New York, the pastor, Rev. Wallace H. Butrick, is giving a series of studies upon the "Life of Jesus Christ." Each lecture has a printed outline, on the back of which there is a map of Palestine. The outline is thoroughly analyzed, with the necessary references to the gospels, and is admirably done.

PROFESSOR FRANK H. FOSTER, of the Pacific Theological Seminary, is with others engaged in organizing a theological society in the Pacific Seminary, for the scientific discussion of questions of current interest in systematic theology. Such a society, its founders hope, will stimulate interest in the discussion and promote soundness of belief.

IN the *Threshold Covenant* Dr. Clay Trumbull (Scribner's, $2) has gathered together an immense amount of material showing how the threshold and door have always been of some significance in primitive religion. In illustration of this we have a new explanation of

the "Hebrew Passover Sacrifice," and a new illustration of the "Christian Passover." However much we may hesitate to accept without further consideration the relationship of the facts to Christian teaching, the volume is an important addition to the history of religious origins, and is a worthy companion of the author's *Blood Covenant*.

DR. BLISS' latest find at Jerusalem is a small seal, hereafter to be known as the Ophel seal. It is in appearance very similar to the Haggai seal. Its characters are old Hebrew of a date not later than the Return. One reading of the seal is *Reaiah*, which occurs in Ezra 2 : 47. It is slightly damaged, hence the reading is, at the present, in some doubt.

M. GAYET discovered in a district adjacent to Antinoe a necropolis with walls of Egyptian, Græco-Roman, Ptolemaic, and Byzantine origin. Here he found Roman and Byzantine dresses, masks, mosaics, and frescoes, all in a good state of preservation. We can thus see the vestures worn by Greeks and Romans in that day; also see the possible origin of some of the fantasies of dress of the present day.

THE *English Polychrome Bible* makes its *début* with Parts 7, 10, and 14—the book of Judges, translated by Professor Geo. F. Moore, of Andover Theological Seminary ($1.25); the book of the Prophet Isaiah, translated by Professor T. K. Cheyne, of Oxford, England ($2.50); and the book of Psalms, translated by Professor Julius Wellhausen, of Göttingen, and Horace Howard Furness, of Philadelphia ($2.50). (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, N. Y.) They are a delight to the eyes.

REV. JAMES LEGGE, D.D., whose death we noted last month, was the first Chinese professor at Oxford, and one of the greatest of European scholars in Chinese. Professor Legge was born at Huntly, Aberdeenshire, and went to China in 1839, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, where he worked as a missionary for thirty years. He was appointed to the professorship of Chinese at Oxford in 1876. As a Chinese scholar he was best known as the editor and translator of the nine Confucian treatises, which are the sacred books of China.

THE Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis held its annual meeting in the library building of Columbia University, December 28 and 29, 1897. The meetings were well attended. Among those who read papers were Professors Haupt, Paton, Robinson, Gottheil, Weber, Barton, Prince, Torrey, Porter, Rhees, Harmon, Bacon. All

the papers, with the exception of those of Professors Rhees, Harmon, and Bacon, were upon Old Testament subjects. Of these Professor Haupt read four, and Professors Paton and Gottheil each read two. Papers were also read by Hon. S. J. Barrows, of Washington, and Dr. W. H. Cobb, Recording Secretary of the society.

THE Guimet Museum of Paris has lately secured some of the most interesting Egyptian finds of M. Gayet. This *savant* has struck some rich treasures in exploring Hadrian's sepulchral and sacred city of Antinoe, on the banks of the Nile. Some favorite of that emperor died and was buried there. Last year M. Gayet came upon the remains of a temple, supposed to belong to Ramses II, for Hadrian had built on a site whose former city dated from that king. Now he finds that the temple is Roman. In pursuing his excavations, he further found, at a depth of three feet, about a half million jars standing upright and packed together. They were sealed, and contained some grain and some honey, with marks of wine and oil in others. The theory of M. Gayet is that these were offerings to the *manes* of Antinous, who was buried by the emperor.

THE American Baptist Publication Society has published a second edition of Professor W. C. Wilkinson's *Baptist Principle*. The work has been enlarged by the addition of nearly a half more new material, and will doubtless continue to be an almost classic presentation of the position of the Baptist denomination upon the subject of baptism and the Lord's Supper. The volume is not by any means narrow, but, as we find in chap. 30 expressly stated, is based upon the belief that there is an amount of room among Baptists for a diversity of opinion, and that discussion, and not controversy, is wanted. The volume contains, however, very clear evidence that Professor Wilkinson's positions are not those of compromise. They are clearly stated with the author's well-known literary skill, and the arguments well merit attention. The volume also contains a continuous plea for complete obedience of the Christian to his Master, as the main element of his religious life.

Book Reviews.

A Harmony of the Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, in the Text of the Version of 1884. By WILLIAM DAY CROCKETT, A.M., with an Introduction by WILLIS JUDSON BEECHER, D.D. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1897. Pp. xii + 365. $2.

"The Books of the Kings of Judah and Israel" is the supertitle of this volume. The author has disposed all the material of the three double books named in the title into five books, as follows: (1) until the founding of the monarchy, (2) the reign of Saul, (3) the reign of David, (4) the reign of Solomon, (5) the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. The analytical outline of the matter contained in these books covers forty-five pages, is split up into 183 sections, and many of these sections are subdivided, according to the character of the narrative, into anywhere from two to ten points. Three hundred pages of the body of the book present the biblical material arranged in parallels after the manner of Steven and Burton's *Harmony of the Gospels*. Duplicate or triplicate records in a single book, such as 1 Chron. 2 : 18–20; 2 : 42–49; 2 : 50–55, are disposed in three parallel columns (p. 52). There is wisely no attempt to put before the eye the absolute parallel in words, but merely the similarity in verbiage, which may be, and sometimes is, simply a different expression for exactly the same Hebrew text. When we reach the fifth book (p. 195) — the kingdoms of Judah and Israel — the problem is more complex. The page is cut into two columns, one for Judah, one for Israel, and into each of these columns is disposed, in narrower columns, the parallel matter of Kings and Chronicles pertaining to each separate kingdom — requiring at times four or even five columns on a single page (as on pp. 197, 211, 269, and 300). An appendix furnishes four pages of references to passages in other parts of the Bible parallel with certain sections of the Harmony. An index for finding any passage in the Harmony concludes the book.

The problems that face a harmonizer of the six biblical books named in the title are not many, but manifold. Other attempts, such as Geneste's, have solved some of the difficulties, but the new acces-

sions of material from Assyriology and biblical criticism have located more, many and intricate. It may not be possible, and would not be prudent, to introduce some of these questions into a work of this kind. But the direct influence of this new knowledge should be evident wherever it is vital to the arrangement of the matter. About four-fifths of the material compassed in the author's plan easily falls into its natural and chronological order. In the book of Samuel, especially, we find no parallels, or indications of the different narratives (or parallels) of Saul's coronation, or of David's introduction to Saul. But the real test comes in the remaining one-fifth. At the outset we are lost without a timekeeper. Even after some examination, the author's system of chronology is not apparent. No dates are introduced, either in the headlines or in the analysis. Our confusion is the greater because the author runs counter to the Assyrian eponym canon and to the practical agreement of scholars on the chronology of the divided kingdom. This is seen in the insertion of three *interregna*, one of *eleven* years between the reigns of Amaziah and Uzziah of Judah (p. 293), one of *twenty-two* years between Jeroboam II and Zechariah of Israel (p. 295), one of *nine* years between Pekah and Hoshea of Israel (p. 307). Again we find "Sennacherib's first invasion of Judah" (p. 322), 2 Kgs. 18:13–16; and "Sennacherib's second invasion of Judah" (p. 324), while, so far as the fullness of the Assyrian records goes, and they are full on this point, this king never made more than one campaign into the "Westland." Lack of space will not allow us to discuss these points and some others of equal importance. The footnotes are usually the marginal readings, or some remark of the author in justification of his arrangement. If these were somewhat fuller, the reader would be the wiser and the happier. Aside from the points already mentioned, this "Harmony," though not a "*harmony*" in the sense of harmonizing conflicting statements, will do a real service for Bible readers. Its typographical dress is pleasing to the eye, and its form (7×9 inches) is well adapted to the character of its contents.

PRICE.

Philippian Studies: Lessons in Faith and Love from St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. By H. C. G. MOULE, D.D., Principal of Ridley Hall and formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

This new work of Principal Moule is, strictly speaking, not a commentary, but a collection of expository studies in the epistle of

Philippians. In this particular they are admirable examples of what interpretation for homiletical purposes may be. A paraphrase is so arranged as to show by blackfaced type the original text of the epistle, exegetical notes are printed at the bottom of the page, and following the paraphrase is what may be called an application, consisting of several pages of reflections and appeal. While we can hardly believe that some of the positions of Principal Moule are tenable, *e. g.*, that the kenosis of Christ implies infallibility in every subject upon which he speaks, we none the less commend the book for its earnest attempt to discover by scholarly method the exact teaching of the epistle. The possibilities of the two methods of the treatment of the New Testament —exegetical and expository—are well seen by the comparison of the two books on the Philippians by Principal Moule and Professor Vincent. S. M.

The Emphasized New Testament. A new translation, designed to set forth the exact meaning, the proper terminology, and the graphic style of the sacred original; arranged to show at a glance narrative, speech, parallelism, and logical analysis; and emphasized throughout after the idioms of the Greek tongue. By JOSEPH BRYANT ROTHERHAM. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1897. Large 8vo. Pp. iv + 272. $2.50.

Mr. Rotherham must be given credit for a great deal of painstaking work in the preparation of this attractive book. The elaborate plan outlined in the title has been carefully carried out, and the result ought to have careful consideration. The indication of emphasis, which the author seems to regard as the book's principal feature, is effected by the use of a series of points and symbols, marking the more emphatic words, phrases, and clauses. To the ordinary reader this apparatus will seem to mar the page to little purpose. A further feature is the paragraphing, which might have been very helpful indeed, had it been done with more moderation. Again, an effort has been made to secure the vividness of the Greek by following its order where it was at all possible. The result may be graphic, but it is not English. The version purports to have been adjusted to the text of Westcott and Hort, but it does not always follow their punctuation, *e. g.*, Matt. 26:50; Luke 23:3, 43; and in some passages there are unmistakable traces of another text; *e. g.*, Luke 2:48; 11:37; Acts 25:13.

As a translation the book is interesting. The article has been, on

the whole, carefully handled. The most prominent failure to do it justice is in Luke's genealogy, where there is little doubt the revisers are right and our translator wrong. Βαπτίζω is uniformly rendered "immerse," not excepting Luke 11:38. Ἐκκλησία is always "assembly;" αἰώνιος, "age-abiding," and ἀνάπειρος, somewhat hazardously, "tried," Luke 14:13, 21. There can hardly be two opinions about the impropriety of translating the subjunctive as potential, whether with ἄν (Matt. 24:32; John 2:5) or without (Mark 8:26; Luke 12:36). The inceptive force the translator finds in many imperfects —*e. g.*, Matt. 9:34; Luke 5:30; 8:38, 41; 22:5; 23:39—suggests that his treatment of tenses is not more exact than his treatment of moods. The rendering of τί "anything," in Mark 15:24, is surprising; since the roughness of the literal "who should take what" would not repel but attract Mr. Rotherham. Did he mistake τί for the indefinite? The constant use of periphrastic forms, "am casting," "be going," "was requesting," is not only monotonous, but often positively unfaithful to the Greek.

On the whole, it is to be feared that in this handsome book, laborious as its preparation has doubtless been, too much has been attempted. The only misprints observed are *Seroux* and *Ragan*, p. 60, footnotes *a* and *b*. E. J. G.

The International Critical Commentary. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon. By Rev. Marvin R. Vincent, D.D., Baldwin Professor of Sacred Literature in Union Theological Seminary, New York.

This volume does not contain as many pages as its fellows in the series in which it belongs, but it is marked by as careful scholarship as any of them. It is especially strong along the lines of word study, the possibilities of which Professor Vincent has already made known. We would especially call attention to the careful study upon bishops and deacons on pp. 36–51. Its especial value lies not only in the author's complete use of literature on the subject, but also in his undogmatic point of view. According to Dr. Vincent the episcopal function included that of teaching and of caring for the financial interests of the church, but was not confined to them, but "extended to the social relations of the community, to inspection of the performance of social duties, to guardianship of those rules and traditions which were the charter of the infant organization, and to representation of the com-

munity in its relations with other Christian churches or with the outside world." Into the origin of the presbyterate Dr. Vincent does not think it necessary to enter, but he is agreed with those who do not regard it as the outcome of the synagogue. The name may have been thence derived, but the functions of the presbyter were certainly not. In the church of the Acts the presbyters are already in evidence and are disconnected from the bishops. In support of this view Dr. Vincent deals a little summarily with the account in Acts 20, and passes to the consideration of 1 Timothy and of patristic passages. On this testimony he holds that the eldership was identical with the episcopate. The eldership "denotes an honorable and influential estate in the church on the ground of age, duration of church membership, and approved character. Only bishops are appointed. There is no appointment of the presbyterate." Dr. Vincent also holds that whatever evidence we have as to the diaconate in its relation to the eldership is very incomplete, and does not justify the Roman and the Presbyterian theory of church polity. Formal church polity he regards as the result of evolution from simple organization in which there was no uniform system of ecclesiastical nomenclature in the Pauline church.

Another careful examination is to be seen in the author's discussion of the great passage, 2 : 6–11. Attention should also be called to the admirable introduction which is prefixed to the commentary itself. While we can never expect that an author can supplant Lightfoot, it is not too much to say that in the matter of the introduction Dr. Vincent has given as good a brief account of the questions involved as is to be found.

In treating of the little note of Paul to Philemon, Professor Vincent has done good service in treating it in the light of its central importance — the position of Paul to slavery. He does not regard Paul's silence in regard to the institution as indorsing it. Paul really sees that the slave is more than a chattel, and that the Christian master has a duty to him. Thus in the very breath in which he was ordering a slave to return to his master, he was presenting such a conception of the relation of slave and master as to lead to the ending of the institution itself.

In a word, the admirable scholarship and undogmatic quality of Professor Vincent's exegetical processes lead us to regard the book as maintaining the standard already set by preceding numbers of the series.

S. M.

"COME UNTO ME" *Vladimir Makovsky*

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME XI MARCH, 1898 NUMBER 3

TWO IDEAS OF THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL CURRICULUM

AMONG the topics pertaining to the Sunday school which in the editorial in the January issue were named for future discussion, none is of more fundamental importance, on none will there be sharper difference of opinion, than the matter of the curriculum. The issue is practically between two distinct conceptions of what the course of study in a Sunday school should be. Shall uniformity be the dominant idea of the Sunday-school curriculum. and shall all the school, and if possible all schools the world over, study the same lesson on the same day? Or shall the course of instruction be graded, as in all other schools today—graded, that is, not only in the treatment of the material, but also in the selection of the material to be treated?

ADVANTAGES OF UNIFORMITY

The advantages of uniformity are undoubtedly great. It secures unity in the school, enabling the teachers to coöperate in the study of the lesson, and giving the superintendent an opportunity to direct and stimulate the work of instruction throughout the school. It secures unity in the home, making it possible for the father or the mother to assist and guide in the study of the lesson at home by the whole family from youngest to oldest, and facilitating the association of family prayer with the study of the Bible in the Sunday school. It immensely facilitates the preparation and publication of helps on the part of religious papers and in the form of quarterlies, lesson papers, etc. It

enlists on the side of Bible study in the Sunday school an immense capital of brains and money. It appeals powerfully to sentiment, and secures the help of that important ally. The superintendent and teacher in every city and hamlet in the land, the parent in every home, even the child himself, feels, or may feel, the stimulus and inspiration of the fact that the prayerful thought of the Christian world is turning with him to the portion of Scripture assigned for study today.

Advantages of a Graded Curriculum

But the graded curriculum has its advantages too, and they are of the greatest importance from an educational point of view. The selection of material, not on the principle of engaging the whole Christian world in the study of a given portion at the same time, but on that of giving each class or grade of scholars in each school the material best adapted to their age and stage of advancement, and of so arranging the course both in respect to material and method of study as to constitute an orderly and progressive course of study, is the only method which can make our Sunday schools in the best sense of the term educational institutions. This method adapts the material to the capacity of the scholar, avoiding the absurdity of setting children of six years old to studying the pastoral epistles or the book of Revelation. It secures the study of the different portions of the Bible in the best order, taking into account both the relation of the different parts of the Bible to one another and the varying needs and capacities of children of different ages. It will result in giving to each pupil who completes the course a connected and related knowledge of the whole Bible and of its teaching taken as a whole, instead of the distorted and disconnected view which the system of uniformity too often gives.

Which system shall we choose; or rather, toward which shall we work? For we scarcely possess the literature today that makes a choice possible at once. The answer will depend in the end upon which of two conceptions we hold of the Bible, and of the purpose of the Sunday school. On the one side, if the

Bible is alike in all its parts, and equally valuable in them all, being useful simply for the moral and religious precepts or theological propositions which can be directly culled from it, or gained by a species of allegorical interpretation, then the advantages of the system of uniformity will probably outweigh in our minds those of a graded educational curriculum. But if the Bible is the history of a progressive revelation, and if, for this reason, it yields its best results alike intellectually and morally when it is studied with due reference to the relation of part to part, and to the unfolding of the great divine plan and revelation that runs through it, then we shall give our suffrages to the graded curriculum in preference to the system of uniformity. In saying this it is by no means implied that the whole curriculum should be dominated by the aim to teach history in the chronological order. The best starting point for the study of history is not necessarily its earliest event. Nor does an education necessarily begin with the study of history. But a graded curriculum will make provision both for whatever study of the Bible ought to precede, for the younger children, a treatment of it from a historical point of view, and for due recognition in the later stages of the curriculum of the historical character of the book, and the progressive character of the revelation made in it.

Choice as Affected by Our Conception of the Bible

If again we conceive of Sunday-school teaching as essentially preaching, that is, primarily intended for the purpose of persuading to action, rather than of instructing, especially if we carry this so far as to hold that the more the element of exhortation predominates over that of the acquisition of knowledge, the more truly the Sunday school realizes the ideal, then we shall see little advantage in a graded curriculum, and the real advantages of uniformity will lead us to decide for the system of which that is the dominating thought. But if, on the other hand, we believe that the Sunday school is an educational institution, in which the moral and spiritual end is supreme, but the agency employed is distinctly educational; if we hold that

As Affected by Our Conception of the Sunday School

the church ought to have one service in which the great moral and religious end of the church itself shall be sought distinctly through biblical instruction, and that the Sunday school shall be that service, then we shall decide that in it the best educational methods ought to be employed, and that the Sunday school ought to have a curriculum, not merely lessons used at the same time by all the pupils from the child to the adult.

On which Side the Decision will be

Which side of this question the church will ultimately take we have no doubt whatever. The uniform system has accomplished great results for the Sunday school. But for this very reason it will be the stepping-stone to something better. It is not true that the Bible is of homogeneous character throughout, so that all parts of it are equally adapted to the instruction of children of every age, and that it is of no consequence at which end the child begins to learn it. Let it be granted that almost any portion of Scripture may be made to suggest something that will be useful to a pupil of any age; yet the attempt to use certain portions of Scripture for the instruction of the younger children, for example, inevitably results either in the maltreatment of the Scripture or the confusion of the child, and usually in both; while the limitation of the selection to those portions which can be used by the whole school means such a curtailing of the course of study as inevitably drives the older scholars out of the school. What would be said of the argument that, because it is possible to teach something about geometry to any pupil from five years old up to twenty, therefore geometry ought to be made in a given year or term the subject of study from the top to the bottom of our public-school system? And yet almost every argument that can be urged for uniform lessons in the Sunday school might be urged for such a course in the public schools. The truth is that the Sunday school is lagging far behind the public school in educational method, and stands today almost on the level of the old ungraded district school. If the study of the Bible is more vitally important than the study of mathematics; if religious culture is more necessary than secular, then the Sunday

school ought to be employing the best educational methods, not lagging in the rear of educational advance. Is it worth while to teach the Bible as well as we teach arithmetic? Uniformity has its advantages, but they may be purchased at too high a price.

The Duty of the Hour: for Biblical Scholars

But if these contentions are just, they involve two conclusions of a practical character. If the Sunday school ought to seek the high end which belongs to it in common with every other agency of the church, the creation and development of Christian character, by distinctly educational means, then to someone there belongs the duty of framing an intelligently constructed curriculum for the study of the Bible in the Sunday school, and to someone that of preparing suitable literature for the study and teaching of it in accordance with such a curriculum. If no one is wise enough to do this today, if we do not even know what the curriculum ought to be, then we must begin still further back and take up the study of the problem and the collection of the data which will enable us to construct at least a provisional curriculum. Of that great capital of money and brains and spiritual zeal which is now going into the preparation of a literature which, however able and scholarly and devout, is based on an antiquated educational method, is there not some part that can be devoted to the elevation of Sunday-school instruction, to bringing it up at least to the level of our none too perfect public-school system?

For the Sunday Schools

But there is another duty nearer at hand and one which belongs to a much larger number of persons. Though it is true that there is not yet available any system of lessons or text-books which is adjusted to an intelligent curriculum, it is also true that there are the beginnings of such a literature, and that from the material now in print a selection might be made which would provisionally serve the purposes of a graded school. We cannot spring at once into a perfectly organized curriculum. We must reach it step by step, and by the coöperation of the Sunday schools

with those who are preparing and publishing the literature. Has not the time come when some of our Sunday schools at least can wisely break with the system of uniformity, and by the employment of a selected literature, accompanied by intelligent classification of pupils, begin to work toward a rational curriculum? Such a step, if discreetly taken, would both improve at once the instruction in the school that adopted it, and encourage on the part of those engaged in the preparation of Sunday-school text-books more rapid forward movement. Is not this the duty of the hour in Sunday-school work?

CAPERNAUM, CHRIST'S "OWN CITY."

By Hon. Selah Merrill, D.D., LL.D.,
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We are to visit that portion of the north shore of the Sea of Galilee which lies between the mouth of the Jordan and the upper end of the plain of Gennesaret. In its present condition this region has very little to commend it to our notice; but historically it deserves our undivided and reverent attention, because it is intimately connected with the life of Christ and the beginnings of the Christian religion.

This shore has no bluffs, there are no high hills near it, the ascent inland that is to the north is gradual, but it is remarkable from the fact that the entire surface is broken and covered thickly with basalt bowlders. In this respect there is hardly another section of Palestine to be compared with it, since these bowlders for three or more miles back from the water and along northward near the Jordan are so thick that it is next to impossible for animals to pass over them. "Fields" do not exist and never have existed here, and "the cultivation of the soil" is impossible except in a very limited degree. Along the shore, close to the water's edge, there are a few patches of fertile land, but whatever towns existed here must have been supported chiefly by the sea traffic and its fisheries rather than by the products of the soil.

Considering *Khan Minyeh*, or *Minia* as it is now sometimes called, as the north end of the plain of Gennesaret, the distance thence to the mouth of the Jordan is a little less than five miles, scarcely more than four and a half miles. The direction of this section of the coast is slightly northeast and southwest, the exact bearings of the mouth of the Jordan from *Khan Minyeh* being E. 23 degrees north, so that one would be practically correct to say that the line of the coast ran east and west. At

Khan Minyeh there is a ruined *khan*, whence its name; also a small mound, hardly noticeable, called *Khurbet Minyeh*, the Fountain of the Fig, or *Ain et Tîn;* a curiously shaped hill which is artificial, called *Khurbet el Oreimeh*, and an old aqueduct in the face of the rock. We cross a fertile bit of land and reach in twenty minutes *Et Tabighah*, a copious spring or group of springs with mills. Two miles further over countless bowlders we reach a ruin called *Tell Hûm*, and two miles further brings us to the mouth of the Jordan. Not far from the latter point we passed *Wely Ibrahim*, one of the many similar tombs that are scattered at intervals over the country. Two miles north of *Tell Hûm*, in a wilderness of bowlders, is a ruin called *Kerazeh*, now accepted as the site of Chorazin. One might easily suppose that this place was built here for purposes of defense, a fact which was true of many towns east of the Jordan in the *Lejah*, the great lava bed of Bashan. They were built away from the free land of the plain, in localities that were practically inaccessible, roads being cut through the rocks for an outlet, and in this manner far greater security was assured, since the places could more easily be defended.

If we are to locate Capernaum, every ruin in this angle between the river and the lake must be noticed; every road, if there are remains of any; also the character and possibilities of the soil of the region, since every physical feature as well as every indication of human activity may have a bearing on the question.

In discussing the site of Capernaum it is the invariable rule to appeal to the testimony of Josephus, and to that rule we must conform, although, after repeated attempts to get definite help from his words, we conclude that his testimony, in this case at least, is really of little value. In *Wars*, iii, 10:8, where he is giving his brilliant description of the plain of Gennesaret, he says that "it is irrigated by a highly fertilizing spring called Capharnaum by the people of the country." This evidently was a local name of a spring which he simply adopts. He does not apply it to a town; in fact, in this connection he does not speak of any town. It is pure supposition to consider this spring and

the Capernaum of the New Testament as having any connection; certainly Josephus does not connect them in any manner, and the same is true of the gospels.

The only other passage in the so-called "testimony" of Josephus is in *Life*, chap. 72, where he is giving an account of a

TEL HUM BEFORE THE RUINS WERE BURIED

skirmish between the troops under his command and the forces of Sylla. Josephus' horse fell and disabled its rider so that he had to be carried away, and he was taken "into a village called Cepharnome" (Κεφαρνωμη). Yet Capernaum was a city, a fact perfectly well known to Josephus and to all the people of the country; and, while a Greek or a Roman writer might use city and village interchangeably, this would be very strange in a Jewish writer. The first part of Capernaum of the gospels and of Josephus' Cepharnome may be accepted as identical—the Hebrew word for village, but is it possible to make *naum* and *nome* (ναυμ, νωμη) identical? If a single letter were changed,

n for *k*, we should have a repetition of the preceding word for village, that is, there would be the Greek word for village appearing twice, and the Hebrew word for village between them.

It seems as if we had reason for regarding the text here as corrupt. But even if correct it does not help us to find Capernaum, the apparent blunder of Josephus is unexplained, and the words remain a puzzle. Josephus' accident was on the east of the Jordan between Julias and the lake. He was carried to some village, and the following night was taken by boat to Tarichæa at the southern end of the lake. It is often maintained that Josephus, after his accident, "would be carried to the nearest place," *i. e.*, his Cepharnome would be near the mouth of the Jordan on the west side, since the enemy occupied the east side of the river; and, further, his Cepharnome would be Capernaum, the present *Tell Hûm*. It is a fact that the towns about the Sea of Galilee were at that time (during the war) divided politically; some had joined the Roman party, while others remained loyal to the Jews; hence it is pure assumption to say that Josephus would be carried to the nearest place; as a Jewish leader he certainly would not be taken where the inhabitants were favorable to the Romans.

In the middle of the plain of Gennesaret, a good mile back from the shore, is *Ain Mudawarah*, or Round Fountain, which has been suggested as the spring Capharnaum of Josephus; but years since the writer showed the impossibility of watering the plain from this source, and this theory is now generally abandoned. In our judgment it is almost certain that the copious fountain at *Ain Tabighah* is the "spring" referred to. But this fact affords no help to those who wish to locate Capernaum at Tell Hûm, for that place is distant two miles to the east, is separated from it by a formidable bowlder bed, and the water of this spring was never led in that direction. The farther Tell Hûm is removed from the spring, the greater is the improbability of its representing Capernaum.

We have stated that the first part of the word Capernaum was the Hebrew word for village, now represented by *tell*. Some derive the last part of the name Tell Hûm from Nahum, a man's

name, but it seems far preferable to derive it from *tanhum*, and the meaning would be village of *comfort, consolation*. The Hebrew mind was fully equal to recognizing an analogy between such an idea and the life-giving water of the spring.

It is not possible to discuss the site of Capernaum without

KHAN MINYEH AND THE PLAIN OF GENNESARET

paying some attention to a neighboring city, Bethsaida, concerning which several theories have been advocated. It is a historical fact that during the first century of our era there was no place east of the Jordan known as Bethsaida, unless it might be some insignificant collection of huts, some "fish-house," *beth-saida*, for the temporary convenience of the fishermen of the lake. East of the Jordan, not far from the point where it enters the Sea of Galilee, there was a city called Julias, which Herod Philip II beautified and where he built a costly tomb for himself in which he was buried. The reader will readily place this man by remembering that he was the husband of Herodias and the father of Salome. The suggestion that Julias, which was

called Bethsaida or fish-house before our era, was a large place and situated partly on one side and partly on the other side of the river, has not even a shadow of an argument in its favor, and was at best a most unfortunate guess. Herod Antipas governed west of the Jordan, and Herod Philip II east of the Jordan; that river divided their dominions, and there was no overlapping of territory or of jurisdiction. The nature of the river, and especially the nature of the land on the west side, precludes the possibility of a double city. Those great beds of basalt bowlders have never been built upon by man. Moreover, the Bethsaida of the gospels was in Galilee, and this city was in close proximity to Capernaum and connected with it in many ways.

In Christ's words of doom upon the impenitent cities (he was to the south of them all when he spoke) the order in which they are mentioned must be noticed, followed by three of the gospels, namely, Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum. We place Chorazin at Kerazeh, two miles north of the lake, and we believe that Christ mentioned first the city that was most distant from him. Bethsaida, mentioned second, would be on the shore at Tell Hûm, and Capernaum, mentioned last, would be nearest the speaker, that is, at Khan Minyeh.

But what is to be done with the synagogue at Tell Hûm, of which there are extensive remains?[1] This fact is supposed to be a very strong argument in favor of its being Capernaum. In reply we say that possibly they do not mean so much as is sometimes thought, for each of the places mentioned was a "city," and, therefore, had its synagogue, so that the presence of such remains at one place has in reality no special weight. Moreover, as an archæologist, the writer does not consider that any remains of this kind now found in Galilee are as old as the time of Christ. After Jerusalem had been destroyed the second time in A. D. 134 or 136, the Jews were scattered, and considerably later in the second and third centuries they flocked to Galilee. Tiberias and the region about the Sea of Galilee became the center of Jewish learning; here were schools, learned men, and books. Judaism flourished here remarkably, forming one of the

[1] These ruins have recently been buried by the Franciscans who purchased the site.

brilliant periods of its history. The synagogues of Galilee, of which remains still exist, date, we think, from this period and not from the time of our Lord.

The incidents connected with the feeding of the five thousand have often been appealed to as furnishing evidence for the correct location of Bethsaida and Capernaum. The attempt to locate the scene of this miracle between Tiberias and Magdala has nothing whatever to support it. Scholars almost unanimously consider that this event took place on the eastern shore of the lake, at the south end of the plain of Batiha. This is the only point where there is a mountain near at hand to which Christ could have retired. Matthew says simply that the disciples went "over the sea to the other side;" Mark that they went "over the sea to the other side to Bethsaida." John says, "they went over the sea towards Capernaum" (Matt. 14; Mark 6; John 6). The storm came on, they fell slightly to the south of their course, and landed on the plain of Gennesaret.

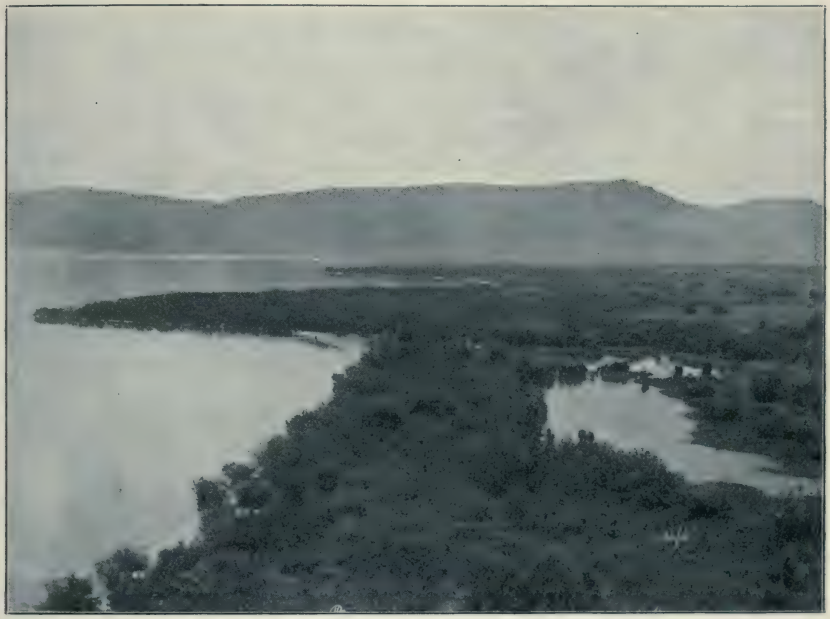
We must keep in mind the relative position of these cities. Two places a mile apart (as to latitude) looked at from a distance of six miles will appear to be quite near each other and practically in the same direction. This is true of Tell Hûm and Khan Minyeh looked at from the scene of this miracle. The writer has tested this on the ground. From the point where the miracle occurred to sail towards Bethsaida or towards Capernaum would be to sail in the same direction. The discrepancy in the narratives, therefore, is perfectly natural and without a particle of weight. The remaining fact, however, that immediately after landing in Gennesaret Christ was in the synagogue at Capernaum preaching that wonderful discourse contained in the sixth chapter of John, seems to show that Capernaum was near at hand, *i. e.*, at the north and of the plain of Gennesaret, or Khan Minyeh. If Capernaum was at Tell Hûm, Christ must have gone past Bethsaida and three miles further towards the mouth of the Jordan in order to reach it.

The strongest arguments in favor of Khan Minyeh yet remain to be stated, and they are based on the fact that Capernaum had a customhouse (the particular tax referred to here was that

imposed upon merchandise and travelers) and a garrison. Where would these be located so as to accomplish their purpose best? One might say—and this argument has been used—that the customhouse was on the dividing line between the territory of Herod Antipas and that of Herod Philip II, and so would be near the mouth of the Jordan, that is, at Tell Hûm. But in reply we say, first, that Tell Hûm is two miles from the dividing line, *i. e.*, the Jordan, and, secondly, and conclusively, the taxing was wholly a Roman measure, very obnoxious to the Jews. Hence it had nothing to do with Antipas or Philip. The customhouse must accommodate both the sea traffic and the land traffic, and where would this point be? The great road from the south to Damascus passes the lake and touches it at the northwest corner, or at Khan Minyeh, and at no other point. Unless there are evident reasons for a change, we have a right to suppose, judging from oriental custom, that the present road follows the line of the ancient road. Tell Hûm was three miles away from this point, and what could have been the object in establishing a customhouse there? It was not on the highway where travelers and merchandise passed. We can think of nothing more unreasonable than to suppose that this great overland thoroughfare went three miles out of its course to accommodate a customhouse at Capernaum, or Tell Hûm. The customhouse would be brought to the road where road and lake touched each other. Moreover, Capernaum had a garrison, and the soldiers would be provided with permanent quarters of their own. At Tell Hûm there are no remains of a castle, but at Khan Minyeh we find such remains, to which we have already referred as an artificially shaped hill called *Khurbet el Oreimeh*. The road with its travel, the sea with its traffic, the garrison, and the customhouse had a natural connection, and the only natural place for them was at Khan Minyeh.

Thus far we find (1) that in locating Capernaum the testimony of Josephus affords very little help. (2) His spring must be placed at Et Tabighah, which militates against the claims of Tell Hûm. (3) In two important passages the gospels indicate that Capernaum should be at the north end of the plain of Gen-

nesaret. (4) The remains of a synagogue at Tell Hûm prove nothing, because each of the three cities had its synagogue, and at Chorazin such remains exist also. (5) We place Chorazin at Kerazeh; Bethsaida at Tell Hûm; and Capernaum at Khan Minyeh. (6) There the great caravan road between Damascus and



THE SEA OF GALILEE AND AIN EL TIN

Egypt touched the lake, and there are the remains of a castle which the garrison occupied. At two different times the writer had men dig on the plain just south of Khan Minyeh, and houses built of finely squared stones, streets, and other evidences were brought to light sufficient to justify the conclusion that an important town lies buried at that point. Here, in our judgment, Capernaum, Christ's "own city," stood. Its outlook south and east over the lake was charming. There stretched the fertile plain of Gennesaret. There rose as from the sea the beautiful buildings of Tiberias. Far down on the left was Gergesa; above it were the frowning walls of Gamala; and Gadara was plainly

visible on the heights far to the south. The fair waters of the Sea of Galilee were guarded on either hand by picturesque hills, and the overarching sky was glorious far beyond the painter's skill to reproduce.

If we could follow our Lord day after day during his residence in Capernaum, we should learn much of his manner of life, and likewise a great deal about the character of the people, their business, recreations, sorrows, struggles, everything that made up the sum of human experience on this busy shore.

Leaving Nazareth, Christ went down to Capernaum upon the seacoast and made it his permanent residence (Matt. 4 : 13). He was accompanied by "his mother, his brethren, and his disciples" (John 2 : 12). For some reason this place had special attractions for him, and he had already become familiar with it before he began his public ministry. Capernaum soon came to be spoken of as Christ's "own city" (Matt. 9 : 1), and when he was there people were accustomed to say that "he was at home" (Mark 2 : 1). He had grown up in a mountain city, and the contrast between its quiet life and the bustle, the scenery, and the climate of this charming lake made its due impression upon him. Three of the gospels mention the fact that he loved to walk upon its shores (Matt. 5 : 18; Mark 1 : 16; John 1 : 36); he met people of many classes; he conversed with them, noted their thoughts, observed their habits and characteristics, some of the people he invited to his home (John 1 : 39), and in these ways he found out the kind of men that he should need to call as his fellow-workers. If he seems to have read Nathanael's character by divine intuition (John 1 : 48), we may still reserve the right of thinking that he studied certain men and formed his judgment of their characters and fitness for his service before he called Andrew and his brother Simon, James and John, the sons of Zebedee, and Philip and his friend Nathanael, or Bartholomew. There is significance in the fact that one pair of devoted friends and two pairs of brothers were the first selections of our Lord. Strong ties of kinship and friendship already existing were utilized by Christ in the new work which they were to share with him (Mark 1 : 16, 19, 20; John 1 : 41, 43, 48).

He had not chosen Capernaum as a residence that he might lead an inactive life. Not only was he conversant with fishermen, but he entered their boats that he might the more conveniently speak to those who gathered about him desiring to hear his message (Luke 5 : 3). He was more than a teacher; a famous instructor or an eloquent orator may command our admiration and still their personality remain to us unattractive and cold. In the case of Christ at Capernaum everybody was drawn to him as a *helper*. Parents and children, the rich and poor, the sick and homeless ones, the ruler, the nobleman, the Roman officer, and the beggar felt that his hand, his touch, would bring relief to every phase of human need.

While at Nazareth we know that he was accustomed to attend the synagogue service regularly on the Sabbath and to take part in the same, and this habit he continued to observe in his new home in Capernaum. "On the Sabbath days" he was found in the synagogue teaching the people (Mark 1: 21; Luke 5 : 31). Certainly there was something unusual in this man, for "his word was with power," and people were "astonished at his doctrine" (Luke 5 : 32).

His power of healing was early put, as from our human standpoint we should say, to the severest tests. In the synagogue where he was teaching there was a demoniac, a desperate case for the physicians. Luke said that he "had a spirit of an unclean devil" (4 : 33) which, at the Master's word, "came out of him" at once and left the afflicted one unharmed in body and in his right mind. Peter's anxiety for his mother-in-law, who was "sick of a fever," led him to seek the help of Christ. Jesus went with him to his house, touched the hand of the suffering woman, "and the fever left her" (Matt. 8 : 15). Very affecting is the story of the unknown woman, the victim of a chronic malady, who had exhausted all her resources upon physicians, but had not been healed; who entered the crowd and said: "If I can but touch his clothes." Christ's brief commendation of her, "Thy faith hath made thee whole," has become one of the precious words of Christendom (Mark 5 : 25–34). How touching is the anxiety of the common people who are led to uncover the roof

that a poor paralytic might be let down immediately in the presence of the Healer (Mark 2:1–8)!

Not only those in humble life, but persons of rank, "besought" his aid. We can almost hear the trembling voice as the nobleman pleads: "Come, ... ere my child die." The merciful response was: "Thy son liveth." (John 4:46–53). Moreover, a Roman officer, the commander of the garrison at Capernaum, has been led to believe that Christ can heal, and he intercedes with him in behalf of his beloved servant. This military leader was not pompous, proud, and disdainful, but a man of great humility and faith; in fact, Christ said that his faith excelled that of any of the sons of Israel (Matt. 8:5–13). When Jairus, a ruler of the synagogue, approached Christ and spoke of "his little daughter lying at the point of death," he appealed to one who had power to say to the lifeless body, when the young spirit had departed, "*Talithā Cūmi*," and to restore the precious life to its sorrowing parents (Mark 5:22–24; 35–43).

It was at Capernaum that Christ showed his power over the many forms of disease prevalent at that time, reaching his hand even into the grave and leading forth again to life a beautiful child. It was there that he gave heart to his discouraged disciples by the miraculous draught of fishes (Luke 5:6). It was near Capernaum that he walked on the water to succor them when in peril, speaking to them from the darkness and storm: "Be of good cheer, it is I; be not afraid" (Matt. 14:27). One day he goes forth from Capernaum to meet the funeral procession at Nain in order to restore to a poor widow her only son (Luke 7:11). Another day he crosses the sea that he may feed "five thousand men, besides women and children," who were hungry in a desert place (Matt. 14:13–21). It was at Capernaum that his preparation was made for his only foreign missionary journey, that to Phœnicia, within the borders of Tyre and Sidon, which furnishes us with the picture of the Syro-Phœnician woman, beautiful so long after that nation and its glories have sunk into comparative oblivion. It was there that his preparations were made for his final journey to Jerusalem, when he was to exchange his home by the lovely and quiet sea

for the cross of a malefactor (Luke 9:51). It is impossible to rehearse even the recorded deeds of that active life at Capernaum. A miracle here, a sermon there, a secret prayer on yonder mountain, words of instruction, comfort, reproof, warn-

THE PROMONTORY AT KHAN MINYEH
Traditional Bethsaida in Foreground

ing, hope, spoken everywhere, hands, feet, and voice always busy in the way of blessing.

Yet this wonderful being, teacher, healer, friend, did not escape criticism. Great reforms then, as now, did not make rapid progress; not all the people of Capernaum were moved by this divine presence. "He ate with publicans and sinners" (Matt. 9:11); "he and his disciples ate with unwashen hands" (Matt. 15:2, 20); "they did not fast according to prescribed rules" (Matt 9:14); and with the Pharisees there was no pardon for such shocking breaches of propriety. Plucking and eating ears of corn in a field through which they passed on the Sabbath was a crime, and some of the Master's most precious words were pro-

nounced blasphemous (Mark 2:7). Christ was not indifferent to the various forms of opposition he met with, and he seems to have felt intense pain and sadness at the ingratitude, the stolid lack of appreciation, on the part of his enemies (Luke 10:12–15). From our point of view his life at Capernaum was a triumph. The very best results attended his labors; many had been healed in body and mind; many had been won to a better life; and from these three cities there had been gathered about him many choice spirits, who struggled with him in his earthly conflicts and who were pledged to carry on his work after he should be called away.

In studying the topography of Galilee, the writer has often been led to reflect upon the reason why our Lord left Nazareth and took up his residence at Capernaum. This is a significant and far-reaching question, and it is found to be difficult to make people of the present day realize its importance. It is a fact that Capernaum, more than any other city of Palestine with the single exception of Jerusalem, was a center of commerce, travel, and especially of news. Roads led thence to Damascus and the Euphrates; to the cities of the Mediterranean coast which were in touch with Europe; to the southwest by Gaza, and thence to Egypt; to the south along the great mountain range to Shechem, Jerusalem, and Hebron; and to the Jordan valley and the rich and populous cities of Perea. Sailors, soldiers, merchants, travelers, princes, men of every class and from many parts of the world, passed through this place on business or pleasure. Hence it was inevitable that the fame of some wonderful healer, some teacher of unusual wisdom, should be carried thence with great rapidity, and in many directions. Christ's gospel was for all the world, and here were messengers from the East, the West, and the South, who would carry tidings of what they had seen to their distant homes. Had it been said that "Jesus shut himself up in a cloister," how different would have been the history of Christianity; but since the new religion was for the homes, the hearts, and the lives of all men, we feel that we have revealed to us a part of God's plan when we read (Matt. 4:13): "Leaving Nazareth . . . . he dwelt at Capernaum."

TWO IDEALS OF HAPPINESS.

I.

1 MACC. 14 : 4–15.

And the land had rest all the days of Simon
And he sought the good of his nation
And his authority and his glory was well pleasing to them
all his days.

And amid all his glory he took Joppa for a haven
And made it an entrance for the isles of the sea.

And he enlarged the borders of his nation
And got possession of the country
And he gathered together a great number of captives
And got the dominion of Gazara, and Bethsura, and the cita-
del, and he took from it its uncleannesses
And there was none that resisted him.

And they tilled their land in peace
And the land gave her increase
And the trees of the plains their fruit.

The ancient men sat in the streets
They communed all of them together of good things
And the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel.

He provided victuals for the cities
And furnished them with all kind of munition
Until the name of his glory was named unto the end of the
earth.

He made peace in the land
And Israel rejoiced with great joy.

And they sat each man under his vine and his fig tree
And there was none to make them afraid
And then ceased in the land any that fought against them
And the kings were discomfited in those days.

And he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low
The law he searched out
And every lawless and wicked person he took away.

He glorified the sanctuary
And the vessels of the temple he multiplied.

II.

Blessed are the poor in spirit —
For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are they that mourn —
For they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the meek —
For they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness —
For they shall be filled.

Blessed are the merciful —
For they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart —
For they shall see God.

Blessed are the peacemakers —
For they shall be called the sons of God.

Blessed are they that have been persecuted
for righteousness' sake —
For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake —
Rejoice and be exceeding glad —
For so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

THE INFLUENCE OF JESUS ON SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

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A social institution is "an establishment for the promotion of some object; an organized society or body of persons, usually with a fixed place of assemblage and operation, devoted to a special pursuit or purpose; as, an educational institution; a charitable institution; the Smithsonian Institution at Washington." In this definition of the *Century Dictionary* emphasis is placed on conscious coöperation for a definite object. But popular language justifies a less distinctive use of the word: "Established rule for order; a principle of procedure in any relation; custom; more specifically, an established habit of action, or body of related facts, regulating human conduct in the attainment of a social end, and constituting an element in the social organization or civilization of a community; as, government, the family, a language." Institutions are parts of human conduct, the manifestation of the inner life.

Much is said in scorn of social machinery, but institutions are more vital and sensitive than machines; they are nearer like the body which feels every motion of the soul. Institutions are the expressions of social ideals, the utterance of what associated men are thinking, desiring, seeking. They are more than this: they are indispensable means of realizing social ideals, as hands and tools are necessary to the embodiment of the plans of an architect. It is by language that the poet gives to his fancies a local habitation and a name. Thomas Chalmers wisely warned against a superfine spirituality which would have frowned upon the incarnation itself as materialistic: "The deadlier mischief of a certain error which has received the utmost countenance and

support from a large class of religionists. What we allude to is their distaste towards all kinds of external machinery, for the furtherance of any Christian enterprise. . . . . And hence, with many, is there a total indolence and unconcern as to all outward arrangements; and everything like a visible apparatus appears insignificant in their eyes. . . . . They would restrain human activity from putting itself forth on any palpable subject, and would sit in a sort of a mystic and expectant quietism, till there came down upon us from the skies the visitation of that inspiring energy which is to provide for all, and to do all." (*Works*, Vol. XV, p. 37.)

Institutions are not merely the effective instrument of social impulses, but they also react on thought and motive. Pose and gesture awaken emotion. Standing erect gives courage. The setting up of a library excites an appetite for literature. A saloon depraves morals. Church bells set religious memories in vibration. A vicious taxing system increases smuggling, bribery, and perjury. Institutions are in organic and reciprocal relations with the inner life; they are both cause and effect. To promote truth and justice Jesus established the church.

The forms of social institutions are as varied as the wants and desires of mankind. Man is many-sided. By his body he is akin to the humble races; by his spirit he is in commerce with the skies. He has created institutions because only by associated action could he attain his ends. Out of the nature and conscious needs of man have grown families, schools, newspapers, industrial systems, customs, languages, governments, churches.

What has been the influence of Jesus on these social institutions? The attempt of apologists to found an argument on the beneficent effects of Christianity, or of the church, has always been challenged by unbelief. The challenge is not without cause, though not for the reasons given by the skeptical. Apologists have frequently undermined theism in the honest desire to strengthen historic Christianity. It is a fatal mistake to divorce the life power of Jesus from the whole divine energy of goodness which the world manifests. Jesus himself declared: "All

that the Father hath is mine." The only solid basis for theism and for Christianity is the sublime doctrine of the Word which speaks creation: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . . All things were made by him. . . . . In him was life; and the life was the light of men. . . . . There was the true light, even the light which lighted every man." John caught this thought, and the Alexandrian Greek Christians diffused it. Some branches and members of the church have, with serious loss, overlooked it. It will always be impossible to separate absolutely the influence of Christianity as historically manifested in the person of Jesus from the universal action of his Holy Spirit in mankind. If it were possible to prove that the portion of good embodied in the church were the only divine blessing, then belief in a good and righteous God would receive a paralyzing shock.

Take, for example, the influence of Stoic philosophy in the Roman empire before the apostolic story of Jesus began to be felt. It seems certain that the lot of slaves and of children was ameliorated; that kindness was more general; that the poor were more tenderly treated; that legislation was made more just. The only adequate explanation of this fact is that it came from the same divine source from which Christianity issued. Ackermann wrote of "The Christian Element in Plato." That element has always been in the world; it is the foundation of the world. The Christ blood cannot be dissected out of the history of mankind without leaving it a corpse.

And yet the personality of Jesus has produced such a peculiar impression that it has a distinguishing character. One can follow the steps of Christ through history by the signs of his blessed presence.

> "And the pleasant water-courses,
> You could trace them through the valley,
> By the rushing in the springtime,
> By the alders in the summer,
> By the white fog in the autumn,
> By the black line in the winter."

It is possible to discover and measure the deflection from the

orbit of a planet produced by the attraction of a great globe unseen. In philosophy men follow the traces of Aristotle far down through Arabian and European speculation. Sir Walter Scott's personality made itself felt in a mass of literature. Great sculptors, painters, and architects have founded schools of imitators. "Browning clubs" are witnesses of the wonderful power of a great genius. In the business world the successful manager gathers about him an army of superintendents, agents, and employés who catch his spirit and are in harmony with his methods. The military genius of Grant transformed the federal army and turned defeat into victory. It is not utterly impossible, though it is difficult, to trace the specific effects of the life of Jesus on social conduct.

We must not make the mistake of thinking of the influence of Jesus as proceeding merely from his earthly ministry. Important things have been done by him since Pilate sealed his tomb. Bancroft wrote of William Pitt's posthumous influence: "The strings he had struck with power still vibrated, his light like that of an 'annihilated star' still shone brilliantly on the world." The influence of Jesus ought not to be compared to that of a long dead star, but rather to that of an ever-burning sun.

History shows a vast difference between pagan and Christian lands. Culture and humanity have reached and held the loftiest levels in the realms of the cross. Christianity derives not merely name but character and power from its author. Those who have been the most numerous and important contributors to the higher life of Christendom ascribe to Jesus the springs of their conduct. Therefore, the influence of the man of Nazareth must have been both potent and beneficent.

Not merely ecclesiastics, but men of a layman's disposition, thoroughly secular, recognize this presence. Lincoln's reverent description is typical: "He whose wisdom surpasses that of all philosophers." Herder, in revolt against clericalism, could say of the Master: "As a spiritual Savior of his race he wished to form divine men, who, under whatever laws it might be, should advance the welfare of others from pure principles of right, and, willing themselves to suffer, should reign as kings in the realm

of truth and benevolence." And Emerson's testimony must be regarded as impartial: "The unique impression of Jesus upon mankind, whose name is not so much written as ploughed into the history of the world."

A newspaper reporter has shown the influence of Jesus on the customs of a wild and wayward community of the frontier. Men still living can remember when portions of Texas were possessed by desperadoes. Fugitives from justice peopled the land. "Among them went Methodism, the American church militant. It dealt mighty blows. It laid out waste lands. It built churches. It established schools. It taught the heathen to send contributions to the heathen. It was on the side of law and order. Its weapon was two-edged, religious and social. . . . . Horse racing became unpopular. Cock fighting went into the limbo of the past. Gone was the time when a district judge would adjourn court in order to break a faro bank. The country dance, with its accompanying quart bottle of cheap whiskey hidden in the corner of a rail fence, was frowned down. . . . . Across the face of this land is written 'Prosperity.' Methodism did it." And Methodism is simply one work of Jesus Christ. The most fundamental and universal social institution, the family, has in all Christian times and lands felt the power of the name of Jesus. Infancy has been made sacred by the manger of Bethlehem. The crêche is inspired by that humble birthplace of the Holy Child. Infanticide and exposure of children, the prevalent vice of antiquity, have come under the ban of his word which blessed little children. In spite of the savage passions of men and the morbid notions of ascetic celibates, the teaching of Jesus has prevailed to hold the world to a sane and healthy estimate of marriage. Barbarians and anchorites have maligned womankind, but the mother of Jesus has been made an object of admiring adoration. In our own day Christian thought centers in the exaltation of the family to its true place of dignity and power, and consecrated talent is toiling at the problem of its restoration.

The story of the influence of Jesus on care for the poor is too long to repeat here. He "went about doing good." He fed

the hungry multitudes, healed the sick, gave sight to the blind, told glad tidings to the poor. For love of him the whole church became an association for relief of distress. Labor was held in honor. The bishop's house became a hospital, the germinal social cell which split up into a thousand specialized forms of beneficence. The monastery in its days of youthful purity, the mediæval orders of charity, the "inner mission" of all modern lands, bear witness to the spiritual agency of the Founder. The King's Daughters bear his silver cross. In his name mighty works are done. Asylums for the crippled, the insane, the outcast, the criminal, the outworn, have that Name graved over their portals.

The influence of Jesus in industrial and commercial institutions has been great and increasing, though the mode of its exercise is not always clearly seen. The form of industrial organization is decided by the conditions of the age and people. We can trace a development from slavery, through serfdom to the capital-wage system of our day, and we can see the divine suggestions of still higher forms of coöperation yet to be evolved. Apparently this order is natural and inevitable. Certainly Jesus and his followers never sought to subvert it by violence or sudden change. The influence of Jesus came down as dew and sunshine along the whole process. The accidental and temporary ranking of men was ignored, or was felt to be insignificant when all were treated as heirs of God.

In our own day the ideal man is still the Carpenter of Nazareth, the constructive workman. The labor question is kept alive more by aspiration than by hunger. Each man has a value in himself. Jesus' estimate of the soul as worth more than the whole world is silently fixing higher market prices of human flesh and toil. Men cannot be regarded as mere means to the ends of masters, since each has infinite consideration with the Judge of all the earth. A famous socialist has offered this testimony: "If Christianity had been interpreted and applied in the spirit of Jesus Christ, if it had been well known and faithfully practiced by the numerous portions of Christians who are animated by a sincere piety, and who have only need to know truth

well to follow it, this Christianity, its morals, its philosophy, its precepts, would have sufficed and would still suffice to establish a perfect society and political organization, to deliver humanity from the evil which weighed it down, and to assure the happiness of the human race on the earth." (Cabet, *Le Vrai Christianisme;* quoted by C. L. Brace in *Gesta Christi*, p. 419.)

The influence of Jesus on labor unions in this country is very remarkable, and is best expressed in the language of selected leaders. We may not think the criticism of the church and clergy altogether fair and just, but we must be glad that a divine leaven is at work even when all things ecclesiastical are suspected or detested. One says: "He taught the basic principles of brotherhood. This admiration extends to a very great degree to non-church members. Many times when His principles are announced they are cheered, while ministers of the church are hissed. Many who admire the character of Christ do not feel cordial toward the churches, because there are none in the church who practice Christ's teachings, nor will allow it in their business." Another says: "Wage workers love Him as a fellow-sufferer, and waste small time discussing his divinity. True admiration of the character of Christ is in itself unimpeachable indictment of the church. The followers of Christ are of necessity opposed to cant, hypocrisy, and Pharisaism; they believe the deed should follow the word; they believe in a brotherhood through Jesus which is real, sincere, and inspiring." Another writes: "As a representative of men in railway service I would say that belief in the teachings of Christ and admiration for his character are stronger." Preachers are often distrusted because it is believed they side with wealth rather than with laborers.

The influence of Jesus upon the valuation of human life has been simply beyond estimate. We recall the scene in the Tower, in that drama of conscience which Shakespeare created under the title "King Richard III." Consider the awful dream which guilty Clarence had, and his awakening to hear the stealthy steps of the murderers sent to assassinate him in his cell. Desperate and unfeeling men stood ready to stab him, and in his

extremity he made the most touching plea for mercy and respite which ever was laid upon human hearts:

> I charge you, as you hope for any goodness,
> By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins,
> That you depart and lay no hands on me.

The wit of despair, the genius of the consummate master of dramatic art, could not remember nor invent a more moving argument than "Christ's dear blood." Clarence knew that if this picture of divine compassion could not melt their hearts, his case was hopeless. If there was not persuasive magic in that formula, then speech was vain. He must die. Rejecting Christ's love, they could not be swayed by any inferior argument.

Educational institutions have grown up wherever the print of Jesus' steps has marked the earth. There had been schools before Christianity, and the Jews apparently established some primary schools about the time of Jesus. Under Mohammedanism learning flourished. The church has not been the sole support of establishments for promoting investigation and instruction. But the place of Jesus in the history of education is unique. He did not merely provide for education as an annex to his system, as a means of conquest and control. The peculiar fact about his church was that it was itself a community of learners in which he was the supreme teacher. The Great Commission bristles with pedagogic suggestions. The business of the missionary is to "make disciples," to gather a school; to teach them the doctrines of Christ, the law of the King; and to expect his perpetual presence among them. The Great Commission was given to the college of apostles, and it made them educators. Their only weapon of world conquest was the truth. Conversions were to be the result of the teaching process, in which the Holy Spirit was the efficient agent. Armies and edicts they could not command. Liberation was to follow the Lord's emancipation proclamation: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." The church from the beginning was itself a school, and every member was a student.

Ancient civilization, founded on slave labor and on political aristocracy, could not thus treat all subjects. Schools were for

the rich and the great. But in giving to the world the most sublime and profound doctrines, Christ ventured to make all citizens of his kingdom his intellectual heirs. Scholarship, and that in the most difficult fields of thought, was to be the business of the disciples. The very designation "disciple" stamps the community of the faithful with this character. The risk of abuse and perversion was great, but a safeguard was provided in the gift of the Holy Spirit who should be the "guide into all truth."

But Christianity has been compelled to work out its task of education through conflicts with most appalling difficulties. It must wait for the slow ripening of human faculties, for the tedious development of organisms. It must toil in the miasmatic swamps of decayed heathenism. It must clash with barbarian hordes whose ideals were those of the dark forests, the bloody battlefields, and the illiterate soldier. Most of all the original light of Christ was dimmed by the dusty windows of the church itself, through which it reached the worshipers. Besotted priests, ignorant ecclesiastics, often appointés of rude barbarians, landlords, and princes, were not fit instructors of the school of disciples. Clerical ambition, akin to the greed of a slave-holding oligarchy, sought to hold the people in intellectual dungeons. And yet we must not be too severe and so unfair. It was during the so-called Dark Ages that Christianity wrought an educational miracle. Compayré quotes a comparison of Jouffroy: "The invasion of the barbarians into the midst of ancient society was like an armful of green wood thrown upon a blazing fire: at first there could issue from it only a mass of smoke."

In 1179 the third Lateran council promulgated the following decree: "The church of God, being obliged, like a good and tender mother, to provide for the bodily and spiritual wants of the poor, desirous to procure for poor children the opportunity for learning to read, and for making advancement in study, orders that each cathedral shall have a teacher charged with the gratuitous instruction of the clergy of that church, and also of the indigent scholars, and that he be assigned a benefice, which, sufficient for his subsistence, may thus open the door of the school to the studious youth. A tutor shall be installed in the

other churches, and in the monasteries where formerly there were funds set apart for this purpose."

Monasteries and orders not only transcribed the precious manuscripts which kept alive the spirit of the old culture, but they transformed the minds of savages and gave them letters, manners, thirst for knowledge, culture. The schools of Charlemagne were not entirely successful, but they flashed a light upon the intellect of Europe, and kept alive the traditions of Christianity as the religion of truth.

> "Shy yearnings of the savage,
> Unfolding thought by thought,
> To holy lives are lifted,
> To visions fair wrought.
>
> O Toiler of the lily!
> Thy touch is in the man!
> No leaf that dawns to petal
> But hints the angel plan."

Humanism and Renaissance were a legitimate protest against the darkening process of priestly repression, and in their very orgies of self-indulgence bear witness to the native capacity for expansion. Luther's plea for public schools was not his own invention, but a revival of the doctrine of Jesus. In the modern period we must confess for the church frequent neglect and apathy, but the ferment of the divine word has worked unceasingly.

In no country has the religion of Jesus produced more direct educational fruits than in America. Our New England fathers planted church and school side by side, component parts of one Christian community. Over the portal of classic Harvard they inscribed the legend, "For Christ and his church."

The old Baptist church in the state founded by Roger Williams built an edifice to worship Almighty God and hold commencements in. In the argument of that noble historic instrument, the Ordinance of 1787, which gave a free charter to our great Northwest, religion and learning are called the two main supports of the political structure. At a time when bread and salt were hard to get the representative pioneers, Christians all, thought that religion, and not bread alone, is a necessity of states, and that learning is its worthy expression.

RECENT DISCUSSIONS OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

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III.[1]

What now is the testimony of Josephus and of Tacitus as to the date of Felix' removal and Festus' accession as procurator of Judea (the crucial point in the chronology of the apostolic age), and how is the conflicting testimony to be interpreted?

1. *The conflict.*— Josephus first refers to Felix in *Antiquities*, XX, vii, 1, where he says: "Then Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to administer affairs in Judea." This is immediately followed by the narration of Claudius' gift of Philip's tetrarchy to Agrippa II, which we otherwise know was in 53. So that, according to Josephus, Felix' accession seems to have been in 52 or 53. In the preceding two chapters (*Antiquities*, XX, v, vi) Josephus speaks of Cumanus, the procurator of Judea, as though he was alone governor over all the Roman province of Judea, including Judea proper, Samaria, Galilee, and Perea. The account seems to know nothing of the presence or authority of Felix in the province previous to his procuratorship beginning in 52 or 53. Similarly in *Jewish War*, II, xii, 1, Josephus writes: "Now after the death of Herod, king of Chalcis [which was in 48], Claudius set Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, over his uncle's kingdom, while Cumanus took upon him the office of procurator of the rest, which was a Roman province, and therein he succeeded Alexander." Then passing over six paragraphs in the history, we come to § 8, where we read: "After this Cæsar sent Felix, the brother of Pallas, to be procurator of Galilee, and Samaria, and Perea." The question naturally arises why Judea proper is not here mentioned as a part of Felix' territory; the absence is presumably due to the context. No one has doubted that, after Felix succeeded Cumanus as governor of Galilee, he had control of the whole province.

[1] The preceding portion of this article appeared in the February number, pp. 112–19.

Tacitus' account is in conflict with this record of Felix. In the *Annals*, xii, 54, relating the events of the year 52 (see Furneaux's *Annals of Tacitus*, Vol. II, pp. 283–5), Tacitus writes: "His [Pallas'] brother, surnamed Felix, for some time governor of Judea (iam pridem Judææ inpositus), acted not with the same moderation, but relying upon such powerful protection, supposed he might perpetrate with impunity every kind of villainy. . . . . Felix, too, meanwhile, by applying unseasonable remedies, inflamed the disaffection, emulated as he was in his abandoned courses by Ventidius Cumanus, who held part of the province; the division being such that Galilee was subject to Cumanus, and Samaria to Felix (Cumano, cui pars provinciæ habebatur, ita divisis, ut huic Galilæorum natio, Felici Samaritæ parerent)." Judea proper is not mentioned here, although it presumably was Felix' district, for the reason that the account is narrating a conflict between the Galileans and Samaritans.

Which account represents the actual facts of the history? Did Felix first become procurator in 52 or 53, succeeding Cumanus, and from the beginning governing the whole Roman province of Judea, as Josephus states? Or did Felix begin his career in this province in the year 48, contemporaneously with Cumanus, Felix being procurator over Judea and Samaria, while Cumanus was procurator over Galilee; this continuing until 52 or 53, when, because of trouble between the Samaritans and Galileans, the account of which is quite similar as given by both historians, Cumanus was banished and Felix was procurator alone over the whole province, as Tacitus states?

There is general agreement that Tacitus is immeasurably the superior of Josephus as a historian. In general, therefore, Tacitus' account would be immediately and strongly preferred as in all probability the more accurate. In this particular case, however, one hesitates because Josephus' account seems at first sight the more probable of the two. There is no other instance of two Roman procurators governing portions of the Roman province of Judea side by side; if this was the case for the four years, 48–52 A. D., it was an exception to the rule. Yet we must notice that the division of territory which Tacitus here mentions, Judea proper and Samaria forming one district and Galilee another, was an actual historical division during the first half of the first century A. D. The ethnarchy of Archelaus (Judea proper and Samaria) was in 6 A. D. changed into a Roman province and governed by a procurator until 41 A. D., when it was given to Herod Agrippa I, as was also the tetrarchy of Antipas (of which Galilee was a part), which

Antipas had lost in 39 A. D. For three years Herod Agrippa I was ruler over Judea, Samaria, and Galilee; then he died in 44 A. D. Now, what became of the two districts, formerly separate except for the three years preceding 44 A. D.? There certainly is nothing unlikely in the view that they returned to their separate condition, a procurator being again, after a lapse of three years, appointed over Judea and Samaria, and the district of Galilee (and Perea) forming a new procuratorship; and that this state of things continued for eight years, until the trouble under Felix and Cumanus, between the Samaritans and Galileans, when the emperor had to intervene, Cumanus was banished, and Felix was given both districts, which from that time on were counted one procuratorial district.

But this is what Tacitus leads us to infer, not what Josephus describes. In *Antiquities*, XX, v, he narrates that Fadus was procurator of the whole province after the death of Herod Agrippa I in 44 A. D., until succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, who in time ruled until succeeded by Cumanus in 48 A. D. His account certainly knows nothing of a twofold procuratorship between 44 and 52 A. D.

Which one of the historians is more likely to have known accurately the facts? One's first thought would be, Josephus of course. He was a Jew living in Judea at the time, while Tacitus was a Roman not born before 52. And Josephus wrote his account of this matter about 93 or 94 A. D., some twenty-two years before Tacitus wrote his account, in 115 or 116 A. D. But the answer is not so certain. Josephus was born in 37 or 38 A. D., so that during Cumanus' procuratorship (48–52 A. D.) he was at best only eleven to fifteen years old, and when he was sixteen years old, in 53, he left Jerusalem to live in the desert with the Essenes, and was gone for three years (*Life*, § 2). When Josephus, then, forty or forty-five years later, came to write about the events of the years 48–56 A. D., is it probable that his own memory of the events would have given him the facts accurately? But in the case of Tacitus his account is drawn wholly from written sources — he has no personal memory of the events concerned, and oral tradition would not give him the long detailed account of the Samaritan-Galilean trouble in which his statement about the twofold procuratorship of Felix and Cumanus is imbedded. And if Tacitus had this information from a Roman written source, it is presumably accurate. His writing two decades later than Josephus makes no real difference. The Romans kept written records of their officials in the provinces, and the important events of their administrations. An account from that direc-

tion concerning the Roman officials in the province of Judea is more likely to be correct than one from a Jewish source, whether Josephus' own memory, or a Jewish written source, although of the latter there is no indication (*Antiquities*, XX, xi, 2).

It looks, therefore, as though Tacitus' account presents claims for our acceptance at least no less strong than those of Josephus' account. It may be conjectured, if Tacitus' account is the correct one, that Fadus and Tiberius Alexander (*Antiquities*, XX, v) were contemporary procurators from 44 to 48 A. D., the former over Judea and Samaria, the latter over Galilee (and Perea); and that they were succeeded in 48 A. D. by Felix (who took Fadus' place), and Cumanus (who took Tiberius Alexander's place). The former pair Tacitus does not mention, the latter pair he clearly describes. The change to a single procurator over the whole province was then the result of the trouble between the Samaritans and Galileans under the latter pair, on account of which Claudius banished Cumanus, and Felix was left governor of both districts.[2]

On the supposition that Josephus is wrong, and that Felix began his procuratorship in 48 instead of 52 A. D., much of what happened during his term of office, and which Josephus has of necessity placed *after* 52, would now be assigned to years preceding 52. The events recorded in *Antiquities*, XX, viii, 5–8, which indicate, perhaps, a few years' time, the suppression of the robbers and imposters, the secret assassination of the high priest Jonathan, the appearance of the "Egyptian" insurrectionist (*cf.* Acts 21:38) and his overthrow, the

[2] It may be that we find even in Josephus an evidence that Tacitus' account gives the correct idea of Felix' procuratorship. It is told (*Antiquities*, XX, viii, 5) that Felix had the high priest Jonathan secretly assassinated because he gave him too much advice about governing Jewish affairs, and that it was Jonathan himself who had asked Claudius to make Felix procurator of Judea. This would suggest that Felix had had a previous acquaintance with Judean leaders, which falls in line admirably with the Tacitus account that Felix had already been one of the two procurators in the province.

Some of the scholars who support Tacitus against Josephus in this matter are Mommsen (*Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Vol. II, p. 220), O. Holtzmann, Blass, Harnack, McGiffert (in works cited above), and Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveler*, p. 313). Ramsay says: "The remarkable contradiction between Josephus . . . . and Tacitus . . . . is resolved by Mommsen in favor of Tacitus as the better authority on such a point; and most students of Roman history will agree with him." Compare Schürer's extreme statement: "It seems a matter scarcely to be questioned that the very detailed narrative of Josephus deserves to be preferred to the indeterminate remarks made by Tacitus" (*Jewish People, etc.*, I, ii, 174).

strife between the Jews and Syrians in the city of Cæsarea, and the trouble among the high priests and their followers in Jerusalem, can be so adjusted to the years 48 and following that they present no difficulty whatever with the view that Felix was recalled in 55 A. D.[3]

2. *The combination.*— At one other point the accounts of Josephus and Tacitus concerning Felix touch each other. In the *Antiquities*, XX, viii, 9, Josephus says: "Now, when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix; and he would certainly have been brought to punishment for his offenses against the Jews, had not Nero yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallas, who was at that time held in the greatest honor by him." While Tacitus states (*Annals*, xiii, 14, 15) that Pallas was dismissed from Nero's court shortly before the date at which Britannicus completed his fourteenth year. Britannicus was born February 13, 41, so that this date would be February 13, 55. This year 55 is also fixed by the names of the consuls, so that the year 56 does not begin until *Annals*, xiii, 25.

By combining these two data, one from Josephus and one from Tacitus, we seem to ascertain that Felix' recall from the procuratorship of Judea preceded February 13, 55, because after that time his brother Pallas, by whose intercession Felix was saved from punishment, had no influence at Nero's court. Felix was recalled by Nero; but Nero became emperor October 13, 54. Then between October 13, 54, and February 13, 55, a period of four months, and a time of closed navigation on the Mediterranean Sea, there seem to fall, on

[3] On this point Professor McGiffert says (p. 358): "Josephus' apparent ignorance touching Felix' presence and authority in Palestine before the year 52 probably explains the fact that he relates most of the deeds which he ascribes to Felix, including his victory over the Egyptian referred to in Acts 21 : 38, in connection with the reign of Nero. At any rate, in view of that ignorance it is clear that no valid argument against the earlier date for Paul's arrest can be drawn from the fact that such events are connected by Josephus with Nero's reign." Thus, easily and successfully, does the advocate of the earlier date put aside the argument which Professor Ramsay (*Expositor*, March, 1897, p. 207) pronounced "conclusive" against him.

Some eight days after Paul's arrest in Jerusalem the Acts (24 : 10) reports him as saying to Felix: "Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years (ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν) a judge unto this nation," etc. Upon the current view the "many years" are six, namely, 52–58 A. D. Upon the view of the earlier date, with Tacitus' time for Felix' accession, the years are five or six, from 48 to 53 or 54. So this passage does not stand in the way of the scheme of earlier dates. The "many years" seems an extravagant statement in either case; perhaps Paul's exact words were not preserved.

Josephus' representation, the recall of Felix, the appointment of his successor, Festus, the journey of the Jewish deputation to Rome to accuse Felix, the journey of Felix to Rome, the trial and acquittal of Felix, and the downfall of Pallas. Now, on no theory of *probabilities* could these events have taken place in this brief period under these circumstances; and on the basis of probabilities, when specific information is not attainable, must history be written.

The difficulty here is not squarely met either by Holtzmann or by McGiffert, while Blass and Harnack add another year to the period for these events, on the authority of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, but contrary to Tacitus' explicit dating. Advocates of the current view, the scheme of later dates, explain away Josephus' datum here, in one of two ways: either that Josephus was wrong in stating that Pallas was still in favor at Nero's court when he secured Felix' acquittal, or that he was wrong in stating that Pallas was the medium of the acquittal. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Pallas, after his dismissal by Nero, may still have had sufficient influence at court — he was one of the wealthiest men in Rome — to secure his brother Felix' release. But this does not seem quite probable, for Pallas had been dismissed by Nero because he was Agrippina's right-hand man in a plot to overthrow Nero and make Britannicus emperor in his stead. He certainly was not restored to favor, and seven years later was put to death by poison at Nero's bidding. Once during these years he was brought to trial on another conspiracy charge, but was acquitted, as it was a clear case of blackmail (*Annals*, xiii, 23).

It is perfectly plain that Josephus is wrong at some point in his account. It may be in regard to the just-mentioned position or influence of Pallas. But the advocate of the earlier date has recourse to another explanation. Assuming as correct Tacitus' account that Felix began his procuratorship in 48 A. D., Josephus' account of the events of Felix' term of office has to be readjusted. It may be simply a part of this displacement (see above) that Josephus has made Nero, instead of Claudius, issue Felix' recall. Felix was recalled for his maladministration; so it may as well have been by Claudius as by Nero. This explanation corrects Josephus in but one point instead of two. The recall might then be placed early enough to admit of the above-named events taking place before February 13, 55. It appears from *Antiquities*, XX, viii, 8–10, that there was an interval between Felix' withdrawal and Festus' arrival at Judea, when there were violent disturbances in Jerusalem because "there was nobody to punish

them, but these things were done with impunity, as in a city without a government." Festus may not have been for some months appointed Felix' successor, or, if soon appointed, he may have had to wait until navigation opened in 55 before he went to his province, for he arrived in Judea in the summer. Paul was given hearing during the month or two months following, and was started on his prison journey to Rome in the late summer or early autumn (*cf.* Acts 27 : 1, 7, 9).

If Festus became procurator in 55 A. D., his term of office lasted several years, perhaps to 61 A. D. The next procurator was Albinus, and his term of office began not later than four years before the outbreak of the Jewish War (*Jewish War*, VI, v, 3) in 62 A. D. (*Jewish War*, II, xiv, 4); it may have been some years earlier. There is no difficulty whatever in so arranging the terms of office of Festus and Albinus. Josephus has recorded for these years a proportionate amount of events (*Antiquities*, XX, viii, 9–11 ; ix, 1–7 ; *Jewish War*, II, xiv, 1).

IV.

In the section just closed we have been comparing two dates for the recall of Felix and the accession of Festus : the date suggested by Josephus' account, which is anywhere from 57 to 61 A. D., commonly now regarded as 60 A. D. ;[4] and the date suggested by Tacitus' account, partly in combination with Josephus (*Antiquities*, XX, viii, 9), which is 55 A. D.

A third date seems to be given us by the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, the

[4] Schürer (*Jewish People, etc.*, I, ii, pp. 182–4), after an extended discussion of the matter, concludes : "An exact and certain determination of the year in which Felix was recalled is clearly impossible. Most of recent investigators assume A. D. 60 as the most probable date. . . . . There is, at least, a possibility of assuming the year 57, and so it is evidently possible to assign the removal of Felix to A. D. 59. It is most correct to say with Wurm, 'at the earliest in A. D. 58, at the latest in A. D. 61, most probably in A. D. 60.'" Professor Ramsay, writing in the *Expositor*, May, 1896, under the heading, "A Fixed Date in the Life of St. Paul," supposed that he had fixed the year 57 A. D. as the date of Paul's last journey to Jerusalem and arrest, so that Felix' recall would fall in 59 A. D. His argument was based on the passage, Acts 20 : 5–7, which he regarded as unquestionably establishing the fact that the passover of that year fell on Thursday, which was the case in 57 A. D., but in no other approximate year. The certainty of this grew dim, however, and in the *Expositor* of March, 1897, he admits that it may have been Wednesday, instead of Thursday, on which this particular passover fell, and that would be the case in 54 A. D. So that he now says 54 or 57 for the year of Paul's arrest, 56 or 59 for the recall of Felix, although still preferring the later dates. After all, the argument seems too minute and exact to use as determinative.

year 56 A. D., or, to be more exact, the second year of Nero, which was October 13, 55, to October 13, 56. The Acts incidents of Paul's relations to Festus and removal to Rome, assigned as they are to the summer and autumn, point to the year 56. If the *Chronicle* were final authority on the matter, since it alone gives a specific date for the event, we should have the problem solved and the controversy settled. Harnack thinks that this is what should be done, and Blass, too, seems to think so. Harnack says: "The statements of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius are in all matters so trustworthy for the post-Christian period that he who questions them must give his reasons therefor. There are, of course, cases in which doubt is legitimate; therefore discrimination is necessary. If now, as in this case, out of his five figures for the Jewish procurators three are free from objection, and since it is natural to suppose that the *Chronicle* of Africanus is the source for these dates of the secular history, only very strong reasons should lead us to abandon the Eusebian chronology. This chronology was, demonstratedly, already a matter of interest in the second century, and to obtain the exact date for the entrance upon office of Felix and Festus could without difficulty have been accomplished at the beginning of the third century in Palestine." The optimism of the last sentence is hardly a satisfactory estimate of historical conditions at the beginning of the third century. If it then was so easy to determine with exactness such minor dates as the beginning of Felix' and Festus' procuratorships, why were not the more important dates of the first century accurately determined: as, for example, the dates of Jesus' birth, of Jesus' death, of the death of Peter and of Paul, and of the outbreak of the Neronian persecution? The Eusebian dates for the five procurators seem to be: Cumanus, mentioned as ruling in 48 (as procurator of all Judea); Felix, appointed in 50; Festus, appointed in 55 (56); Albinus, in 60 (61); Florus, in 63 (64). There is nothing to oppose the dates assigned to Cumanus, Albinus, and Florus, that is true; but neither is there anything to show that they are precisely right, while in the case of Felix' and Festus' dates there is conflicting testimony, for Eusebius' *Chronicle* is here positively opposed both by Tacitus and by Josephus.

But how much assurance have we that these dates which we call Eusebius' dates are, in fact, those which he preferred to any others? The dates of these procurators are from Jerome's version (381 A. D.) of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, not from the original *Chronicle* itself (*circa* 325 A. D.), so that a period of some fifty-six years lies between them. It is understood, also, that Jerome worked upon Eusebius' *Chronicle*, not as

a translator only, but also as a chronographer. The changes which he made cannot be fully known. Further, the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, which is assigned to the fifth century, differs in many cases by years from the Jerome version, making Cumanus 47; Felix, 51; Festus, 54; Albinus, 59 (60); Florus, 62 (63). And, finally, the variations of the MSS. of the *Chronicle* put one in despair of arriving at any certainty as regards exact years. Let one make a comparison of the *Chronicle* as it appears in the editions of Schoene (1866), of Migne (1846), and of Mai (1833), if one wishes to get an idea of the situation.[5] The *general* value of the *Chronicle* for determining the consecution of events and their *approximate* dates is not here questioned. The contention is only that the *exact* year of Felix' recall should not be settled by the *Chronicle* against the testimony of Tacitus and Josephus. The Eusebian dating favors the Tacitus date as against the Josephus date; but in order that Harnack may support Eusebius against Tacitus, he has to accuse Tacitus of an error of a year (*i. e.*, 56 instead of 55), in the matter of the birthday of Britannicus, mentioned in *Annals*, xiii, 15. But that is impossible, for the year 55 is fixed by Britannicus' age, for that birthday was the one at which he would assume the *toga virilis* and so become specially dangerous to Nero, who poisoned him within a few weeks or months; it is fixed also by the names of the consuls of the year.

The issue, therefore, seems to lie between the earlier date 55 of Tacitus, supported somewhat by Eusebius and by two passages of Josephus (*Antiquities*, XX, viii, 5, 9), and the later date 57–61, probably 60, favored by Josephus' general narrative.

[5] Harnack himself says: "It is common to place no reliance upon *one* year in the best chronologies, since they reckon the years of the emperors differently." And Ramsay (*Expositor*, March, 1897) says: "At present it seems to me that we must choose between Eusebius and Josephus; and I am confident that everyone who is used to historical criticism must feel that Josephus is a much higher authority. The method of arranging events in a brief chronological table presented peculiar difficulties in ancient times, owing not only to the immense variety of eras, of ways of expressing dates by annual magistrates' names, by years of kings and emperors, etc., but also to the variation in the beginning of years (sometimes during the spring, sometimes at the autumn equinox, sometimes the first of January, etc.). Every historical student knows by experience how difficult it is even now to reduce a date by some ancient era to the proper year of our chronology; volumes by the score have been spent on this task, and many controversies, which are still raging, turn on this difficulty. Every student knows also how many mistakes of this kind exist in Jerome's Latin version of Eusebius' *Chronicle* (and the additions), as well as in the Armenian version. Moreover, MSS. of such a chronicle are peculiarly liable to errors of misplacement."

V.

There is one further matter to be mentioned in this connection. The discussion has raised anew the question as to the date of Paul's death. Holtzmann, Harnack, Jülicher, and still earlier Wendt and Wieseler, have assigned the death of Paul to the year 64, in connection with the outbreak of the Neronian persecution. McGiffert places the death in 58, partly because he thinks the ending of the Acts requires this, and partly to clear the way for Peter's period of activity at Rome; but this view will hardly win acceptance. Current chronological schemes assign the death of Paul to any year from 65 to 68.

The arguments for assigning Paul's death to the year 64 are very strong. It is unquestioned that Paul died in the Neronian persecution, also that that persecution began in the middle of 64. There is no reason to think that the persecution lasted long; on the contrary, popular feeling must have soon reacted against it. The great probability, therefore, is that Paul was put to death in 64; the traditional manner of his execution is hardly an argument against this, for there are no means of knowing how all were killed, and Paul's Roman citizenship or distinction might have been the occasion of beheading in his case.

The popularity of the later date for Paul's death, 68 (67), is probably due in large measure to the fact that it is placed there by the Eusebian *Chronicle*. While that is so, the *real* testimony of the *Chronicle* is to the early date 64, for it assigns Paul's death (and Peter's) to the *outbreak* of the Neronian persecution, which was in fact in 64, although the *Chronicle* puts it in 68 (67). The association of the death with the beginning of the persecution is a much more trustworthy datum than the naming of a year which is unquestionably wrong for the outbreak of the persecution. This gives us quite certainly the year 64 for Paul's death.[6]

The choice of 68 (67) instead of 64 for Paul's death has been also to some extent due to the apologetic need for a few years after Paul's first Roman imprisonment, which in current chronological schemes ended in 63, for the journeys of Paul reflected in the pastoral epistles, and

[6] Harnack is of the opinion that the mistake in Eusebius at this point is due to his acceptance of the widespread early tradition that the twelve apostles remained in Jerusalem for twelve years after Jesus' death, *i. e.*, until 42 A. D., and that Peter then worked for twenty-five years in Rome, *i. e.*, until 67 or 68; and inasmuch as Eusebius understood that Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at about the same time, Paul's death was assigned with Peter's to this late date.

for the genuineness of the epistles themselves. But even if the release from the first imprisonment was in 63, it would be the spring of that year (*cf.* Acts 28 : 11–16, 30), and more than a year of liberty would fall to Paul before the burning of Rome on July 19, 64; this period would be sufficient for the events and genuineness of the epistles to Timothy and Titus. Of course, if the scheme of earlier dates for the whole apostolic age were taken, it would leave from 58 to 64, six whole years, for these things. It would also be possible to assign to that long period the work of Peter at Rome for which Professor McGiffert argues so strongly; for that purpose Paul need not have been dead, but only permanently absent from the city, and that he seems to have been.

We have seen that there is much evidence to support the revived chronology, and that there are some gains in accepting it. But it is not at all clearly the correct chronology; the problem is one of great complexity, and the balance swings almost evenly between the two views. Perhaps for practical purposes it is better to continue for the present in our adherence to the current scheme of dates, with the hope that clearer light may later fall from some quarter upon the problem.

THE HISTORY OF NEW TESTAMENT TIMES IN PALESTINE.

An Outline for Study, with Selected Bibliography and References for Reading.

By SHAILER MATHEWS,
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PART III.[1]

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE JEWS.

I.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF JEWISH CIVILIZATION.

DÖLLINGER, *Gentile and Jew*, Vol. II, Pt. 2; STAPFER, *Palestine in the Time of Christ;* SEIDEL, *In the Time of Jesus;* SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vols. I, II; EDERSHEIM, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Vol. I; HUIDEKOPER, *Judaism at Rome;* FRIEDLÄNDER, *Das Judenthum in der vorchristlichen griechischen Welt;* MAHAFFY, *Greek Life and Thought;. The Greek World under Roman Sway*, chap. 3; EWALD, Vol. V; KUENEN, *Religion of Israel*, Vol. III, chap. 11; DROYSEN, *Geschichte des Hellenismus;* HATCH, *Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church; Studia Biblica*, I, chap. 3; DELITZSCH, *Hebrew New Testament*, Introduction; ROBERTS, *Greek the Language of Christ and his Apostles.*

§ 25. I. PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

SMITH, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 5–41.

1. Population. 2. Roads. 3. Towns. 4. The country. 5. The local coloring of the New Testament.

§ 25A. II. THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY.

STAPFER, 117–37; EDERSHEIM, *Life, etc.*, Vol. I, 84–92.

1. The fundamental principle in Jewish social life. 2. The priests. 3. The aristocracy. 4. The people at large. 4. Slaves. 5. Foreigners.

§ 26. III. THE LANGUAGE OF PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. I, 8–10; ROBERTS, chap. 1; KAUTSCH, *Hebraica*, Vol. I, 98 *seq.*

1. Arguments for Hebrew. 2. Arguments for Greek. 3. Arguments for Aramaic. 4. Most probable view.

[1] The preceding portion of this article appeared in the February number, pp. 120–25.

§ 27. IV. HELLENISTIC INFLUENCES.

SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. I, 11–56; EWALD, *History of Israel*, Vol. V, 235–67.

1. The history of Hellenism in Palestine. 2. Hellenism on the east of Jordan. 3. Hellenistic influences in the Jewish territory. 4. Its visible traces. 5. The Jewish reaction. 6. Hellenism and New Testament history.

§ 28. V. THE DISPERSION.

WESTCOTT, in *Dictionary of the Bible;* SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. II, 219–81; SEIDEL, 163–88; EDERSHEIM, Vol. I, 3–83; HOLTZMANN, 177–85.

1. "Greeks and Hebrews." 2. History of the dispersion. 3. Its two tendencies. 4. Characteristics of a Jewish colony. 5. The dispersion and the heathen (HORACE, *Satires*, 1:4, 142 *seq.*; PERSIUS, *Satires*, 5:178–84; JUVENAL, *Satires*, 3:12–16; 14:96–106; SENECA, quoted by AUGUSTINE, *De Civitate Dei*, 6:11). 6. Political position of the members of the dispersion. 7. Proselytes. 8. Alexandrian Jews. 9. The dispersion and Christianity.

II.

DOMESTIC LIFE.

BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 97–177, 224–49; NOWACK, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 159–97; EDERSHEIM, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life; Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah;* BRÜLL, *Trachten der Juden;* STAPFER, *Palestine in the Time of Christ;* SMITH, *Dictionary of the Bible*, article Marriage; KITTO, *Cyclopædia*, article Education; DELITZSCH, *A Day in Capernaum;* GEIKIE, *Life and Words of Christ*, Vol. I, chap. 12; DÖLLINGER, *Gentile and Jew*, Vol. II, Pt. 2; SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. II; SPENCER, *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. VII; SIMON, *L'Éducation et l'instruction des enfants chez les anciens Juifs;* WEILL, *La Femme juive;* STERN, *Die Frau in Talmud;* PERLES, *Hebrew Characteristics;* JESSUP, *Woman in the Orient;* W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia;* THOMSON, *The Land and the Book;* NEIL, *Pictured Palestine;* TRISTRAM, *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands;* TRUMBULL *Oriental Social Life.*

§ 29. I. THE JEWS IN PRIVATE LIFE.

EDERSHEIM, *Life, etc.*, Vol. I, 621 *seq.*, Vol. II, 209 *seq.;* TRISTRAM, 80–5, 155 *seq.;* STAPFER, 190–201; NEIL, chap. 1.

1. Chief characteristics of the Jew. 2. Clothing. 3. Baths. 4. Meals. 5. Social intercourse. 6. Etiquette.

§ 30. II. THE HOME.

TRISTRAM, chap. 4; EDERSHEIM, *Social Life*, chap. 6; *Life, etc.*, Vol. I, 501–3; STAPFER, 172–81.

1. Architecture among the Jews. 2. The house. 3. Furniture. 4. Housekeeping. 5. Servants.

§ 31. III. WOMEN AND MARRIAGE.

EDERSHEIM, *Life, etc.*, Vol. I, 352–5; *Social Life*, chap. 9; STAPFER, 146–65; HERSHON, *Talmudic Miscellany*.

1. Position of the Jewish woman. 2. Property rights. 3. Betrothals. 4. Marriage. 5. Weddings. 6. Divorce.

§ 32. IV. THE REARING OF CHILDREN.

EDERSHEIM, *Life, etc.*, Vol. I, 227–34; *Social Life*, chaps. 7, 8; STAPFER, 139–46; JESSUP, *Children in the Orient*, *Biblical World*, December, 1897; BENZINGER, 147–59; SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. II, 46–52.

1. Birth and early years. 2. Parents and children. 3. Laws of inheritance. 4. The attainment of majority. 5. Elementary instruction. 6. Higher schools.

§ 33. V. THE LAST THINGS.

EDERSHEIM, *Social Life*, chap. 10; *Life, etc.*, Vol. I, 554–7; Vol. II, 316–24; STAPFER, 165–71; HOLTZMANN, 163–7.

1. Jewish conception of death. 2. The last offices. 3. Funerals. 4. Burial. 5. Mourning.

III.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE JEWS.

EDERSHEIM, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, chaps. 9, 12; STAPFER, *Palestine in the Time of Christ*, 202–32; DELITZSCH, *Jewish Artisan Life*; HERZFELD, *Geschichte des jüdischen Handels*; MERRILL, *Galilee in the Time of Christ*; BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 32–40; NOWACK, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 178–277; SPENCER, *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. VII; MADDEN, *Coins of the Jews*.

§ 34. I. AGRICULTURE.

STAPFER, 218–28; *Dictionary of the Bible*, article Agriculture; BENZINGER, 205–13.

1. Palestine as an agricultural land. 2. Forms of agriculture in the time of Jesus. 3. Implements. 4. Domestic animals. Land tenure. Rabbinical provisions for agriculture.

§ 35. II. COMMERCE.

NOWACK, 247–50; BENZINGER, 218–23; EDERSHEIM, *Social Life*, chap. 12.

1. The prophets and commerce. 2. Commerce under the Maccabees. 3. Rise of a new commercial class. 4. Rabbinical teachings as to commerce. 5. Chief articles of trade.

§ 36. III. MANUFACTURES.

EDERSHEIM, *Social Life*, chap. 11; NOWACK, 239–46; DELITZSCH, 7–53.

1. Development of artisan life among the Jews as compared with that in the empire in general. 2. Universal apprenticeship. 3. The

social grade of different trades. 4. Division of labor. 5. Wages. 6. Guilds or similar unions of artisans.

§ 37. IV. THE PROFESSIONAL CLASSES.

STAPFER, 246–61; BENZINGER, 249–78; NOWACK, 251–78.

1. Limitation of the present inquiry. 2. Lawyers. 3. Physicians. 4. Architects and artists. 5. Musicians. 6. Professional charlatans.

§ 38. V. MILITARY LIFE.

BENZINGER, 356–63; NOWACK, 357–75.

1. General attitude of the rabbis toward war. 2. Jewish soldiers of the empire. 4. Military science among the Jews. 5. Weapons. 6. Fortifications.

§ 39. VI. MONEY, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. II, 377–83; WILLIAMSON, *The Money of the Bible*, chaps. 3–6; MADDEN, *Coins of the Jews*, 285–310; STAPFER, 202–13; HOLTZMANN, 110–18; BENZINGER, 178–203; NOWACK, 198–220.

1. History of Jewish money until the Maccabean period. 2. Coinage under the Maccabees and Herods. 3. Comparative values of coins current in the time of Christ. 4. Systems of weights and their approximate equivalents. 5. Systems of measures and their approximate equivalents. 6. The reckoning of time. 7. The calendar, civil and sacred.

PART IV.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE JEWS.

I.

DEVELOPMENT AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

MONTEFIORE, *The Religion of the Ancient Hebrews;* W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *The Religion of the Semites;* ROBERTSON, *Early Religion of Israel;* CORNILL, *The Prophets of Israel;* SCHULTZ, *Old Testament Theology;* WELLHAUSEN, *History of Israel; Pharisäer und Sadducäer;* STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel;* KUENEN, *Prophets and Prophecy in Israel;* BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie*, Pt. 4; SCHÜRER, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. II, Vol. II, 1–43, 188–218; KEIM, *Jesus of Nazara*, Vol. I, 233–393; LIGHTFOOT, *Commentary on Colossians*. 82–98, 349–419; HOLTZMANN, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 157–61.

§ 40. I. MONOTHEISM.

BRUCE, *Apologetics*, 176–91; MONTEFIORE, 31–54, 119–39; CORNILL, 1–26.

1. Early Jehovistic faith. 2. The mission of the prophet. 3. The influence of the captivity. 4. The incursion of Hellenism. 5. The Maccabean reaction. 6. Fanatical monotheism.

§ 41. II. SACRED PLACES.

MONTEFIORE, 55–84; DRIVER, *Commentary on Deuteronomy*, chaps. 19–34.

1. The sacred places of the early Hebrews. 2. The rise of the priestly class. 3. The centralization of worship at the temple in Jerusalem. 4. The "high places." 5. The influence of the captivity. 6. The decentralizing influence of the dispersion and the study of the law. 7. The double religious current in the time of Jesus.

§ 42. III. THE PHARISEES.

SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. II, 1–28; EDERSHEIM, *Life, etc.*, Vol. I, 96, 97, 310–24.

1. Origin and growth. 2. The nature and numbers of the fraternity. 3. Their characteristic views. 4. Their importance in the time of Jesus. 5. The virtues and vices of Pharisaism. 6. The criticism of Jesus.

§ 43. IV. THE SADDUCEES.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xiii, 5:9; xviii, 1:2–4. SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. II, 29–43; STAPFER, 265–84; HAUSRATH, Vol. I, 135–53.

1. Origin and history. 2. Their characteristics. 3. Their relations to the Pharisees, the Romans, and the Jews at large.

§ 44. V. OTHER POLITICO-RELIGIOUS PARTIES.

SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. II, 188–218; EDERSHEIM, *Life, etc.*, Vol. I, 324–35; *Dictionary of the Bible;* SEIDEL, *In the Time of Jesus*, 128–46.

1. The Essenes: their origin, organization, and tenets. 2. The alleged connection of Jesus with the order. 3. Herodians. 4. Zealots. 5. Minor sects.

II.

THE TEMPLE WORSHIP AND THE FEASTS.

SCHÜRER, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. II, Vol. I, 207–305; WELLHAUSEN, *History of Israel;* BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 383–463; EWALD, *The Antiquities of Israel;* EDERSHEIM, *The Temple, Its Ministry and Services;* STAPFER, *Palestine in the Time of Christ*, 402–53; GREEN, *The Hebrew Feasts;* CAVE, *The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement.*

§ 45. I. THE PRIESTHOOD.

SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. I, 207–29; STAPFER, 426–35; EDERSHEIM, chap. 4.

1. The original Hebrew priest. 2. The priesthood in the time of the kings. 3. The priesthood after Josiah and the captivity. 4. The high priest. 5. The organization and functions of the order. 6. The Levites. 7. The support of the priestly order. 8. The priesthood in the time of Jesus: its social status, prerogatives, and worth.

§ 46. II. THE TEMPLE.

JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xv, 11:1–7. EDERSHEIM, chaps. 2, 3; STAPFER, 403–39.

1. History of the building. 2. General description of the Herodian temple. 3. Its services. 4. Its support. 5. Effect of its destruction.

§ 47. III. THE SACRIFICES.

EDERSHEIM, chap. 5; EWALD, 23–71.

1. The principle of sacrifice. 2. The daily sacrifice. 3. Private offerings. 4. The procedure. 5. The hierarchical monopolies.

§ 48. IV. THE FEASTS.

STAPFER, 440–53; EWALD, 354–69; EDERSHEIM, chaps. 11–13.

1. Passover. 2. Pentecost. 3. Day of Atonement. 4. Tabernacles. 5. Dedication. 6. Purim. 7. Minor feasts.

III.

THE SYNAGOGUE AND LIFE UNDER THE LAW.

SCHÜRER, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. II, Vol. I, 306–79; Vol. II, 32–125; MIELZINER, *Introduction to the Talmud;* WEBER, *Die Lehren des Talmud;* EDERSHEIM, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, 249–80; *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Vol. I, 430–50; Vol. II, 748–63, 770–96; FERGUSON, *The Synagogue Service in the Time of Christ;* Palestine Exploration Fund, *Report*, 1878, 126 *seq.;* HAUSRATH, *History of New Testament Times;* FRIEDLÄNDER, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums;* DELITZSCH, *Hillel and Jesus.*

§ 49. I. THE SYNAGOGUE.

SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. I, 52–83; EDERSHEIM, *Life, etc.*, Vol. I, 430–50.

1. The origin and purpose of the synagogue. 2. The building and its contents. 3. Officers: the archisynagogos, elders, *chazzan*, *sheliach tsibur*, the *batlanim*, the *methurgeman*. 4. The order of service: the *shema*, the reading of the law, the reading of the prophets, the prayers or eulogies, the address. 5. The synagogue in the dispersion.

§ 50. II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEGALISM.

BRUCE, *Apologetics*, 279–97.

1. The content of the term. 2. The origin of legalism. 3. Stages in its growth. 4. Its relations with ceremonial worship. 5. The Thorah and its complements.

§ 51. III. RABBINISM.

SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. I, 330–50; BRIGGS, *Biblical Study*, 299–307; MIELZINER, 266–80; DELITZSCH, *Jewish Artisan Life*, 73–86; FARRAR, *History of Interpretation*, Lecture 2; EDERSHEIM, *Life, etc.*, Vol. II, 791–6.

1. The rabbi. 2. The doctrine as to Scripture. 3. Interpretation:

halacha, hagadah. 4. Doctrine of sin. 5. Immortality. 6. Righteousness. 7. Ceremonial cleanliness.

§ 52. IV. THE ORAL LAW.

SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. I, 351–63; SEIDEL, 98–112; MIELZINER, 120–9; STAPFER, 386–402; EDERSHEIM, *Life, etc.*, Vol. II, 748–63, 777–87.

1. The "hedge." 2. The two schools of Shammai and Hillel. 3. Typical teaching: as to the Sabbath, prayer, marriage, angels, heathen culture. 4. The authority of the scribes. 5. Rabbinism after the fall of Jerusalem. 6. The attitude of Jesus towards the oral law.

§ 53. V. POPULAR RELIGION.

WENDT, *The Teaching of Jesus*, Vol. I, 33–45; EDERSHEIM, *Life, etc.*, Vol. II, 770–6.

1. The extent of the influence of rabbinism. 2. Belief in magic. 3. Other superstitions. 4. Nobler religious currents. 5. Almsgiving. 6. The supremacy of religion.

IV.

THE MESSIANIC HOPE.

SCHÜRER, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. II, Vol. II, 126–87; Vol. III, 15–151, 321–81; KARPELES, *Geschichte der jüdischen Literatur*, Vol. I; THOMSON, *Books which Influenced Our Lord and His Apostles;* CHARLES, *The Book of Enoch;* RYLE AND JAMES, *The Psalms of the Pharisees;* DRUMMOND, *Philo Judæus or the Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy;* STANTON, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah;* DRUMMOND, *The Jewish Messiah;* BRIGGS, *Messianic Prophecy;* DALMANN, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias.*

§ 54. I. THE LATER HEBREW POETRY.

SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. III, 15–32; PORTER, *The Psalms of the Pharisees, Biblical World*, Vol. IV, 167.

1. Late canonical psalms. 2. The later Wisdom literature. 3. The Psalms of Solomon.

§ 55. II. APOCALYPSES.

STAPFER, 236–45; SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. III, 59–73.

1. General character of this class of literature. 2. The *Assumptio Mosis.* 3. The Sibylline oracles. 4. The book of Enoch. 5. The book of Jubilees. 6. The apocalypse of Baruch. 7. Fourth Esdras. 8. Testaments of the twelve patriarchs.

§ 56. III. JEWISH PHILOSOPHY: PHILO.

SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. III, 362–81; RENAN, *History of the People of Israel*, Vol. V, 299–326. [English translation by YONGE in "Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library."]

1. The history of Philo. 2. His chief works. 3. His appropria-

tion of Greek philosophy. 4. His postulates and method. 5. His doctrine as to: *a*) God; *b*) the Logos; *c*) the world. 6. His influence.

§ 57. IV. THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

SCHÜRER, Div. II, Vol. II, 154–83; CANDLISH, *The Kingdom of God*, 89–117.

1. Criticism of data. 2. Conditions of membership. 3. Elijah. 4. Regenerate and triumphant Judaism. 5. The Gentile world. 6. The time of its establishment. 7. Supernatural elements in the conception as found in literature. 8. Popular expectations. 9. The hopes of the spiritual minority.

§ 58. V. THE MESSIAH.

EDERSHEIM, *Life, etc.*, Vol. I, 160–79; SEIDEL, *In the Time of Jesus*, 147–62; GEIKIE, *Life of Christ*, 79–83; LÜTGERT, *Das Reich Gottes nach den synoptischen Evangelien*, chap. 1.

1. The development of the hope. 2. His coming. 3. Supernatural nature. 4. Royalty. 5. Sufferings. 6. The resurrection of the dead and the triumph of the Messiah. 7. Popular expectations. 8. Jesus in the light of the Messianic hope.

PART V.

NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY.

I.

THE LIFE OF JESUS.

ANTHONY, *Introduction to the Life of Jesus;* ANDREWS, *The Life of Our Lord;* GILBERT, *The Students' Life of Jesus;* STALKER, *The Life of Christ;* EDERSHEIM, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah;* FARRAR, *The Life of Christ;* WEISS, *The Life of Christ;* BEYSCHLAG, *Das Leben Jesu;* WENDT, *Die Lehre Jesu*, Vol. I; *Dictionary of the Bible* (rev. Eng. ed.), Gospels; RUSHBROOKE, *Synopticon;* ABBOT and RUSHBROOKE, *The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels;* WRIGHT, *Synopsis of the Synoptic Gospels;* RIDDLE–ROBINSON, *Harmony of the Gospels in Greek;* STEVENS and BURTON, *A Harmony of the Gospels for Historical Study;* HUCK, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien;* WIESELER, *Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels;* CASPARI, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ;* HOLTZMANN, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 118–27.

§ 59. I. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF JESUS.

1. The date of his birth.

GILBERT, chap. 2; ANDREWS, 1–35, 72–82; (SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. II, 105–43; ZUMPT, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi;* WIESELER, 33–150; HUSCHKE, *Census;* STEINMEYER, *Geburt des Herrn*).

a) The death of Herod I; *b*) the star of the magi; *c*) the census of

Quirinius; *d*) the fifteenth year of Tiberius and Luke 3 : 23; *e*) John 2 : 20; *f*) other possible data; *g*) the probable results.

2. The date of his death.

ANDREWS, 35–51; WIESELER, 324–75; SALMON, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 245–57.

a) The problem and its significance; *b*) reasons why the crucifixion could not have occurred on the day of the passover; *c*) contrary arguments; *d*) probable results.

3. The length of his public ministry.

GILBERT, chap. 5.

a) The reason for conflicting views; *b*) the various arrangements (quadri-, tri-, bipaschal) and their grounds; *c*) the office of criticism; *d*) the two tenable positions; *e*) the relation of the chronology to the order of events; *f*) principal periods in the ministry of Jesus.

§ 60. II. THE EARLY YEARS OF JESUS.

STAPFER, *Jesus Christ before His Ministry;* EDERSHEIM, Vol. I, 217–34; FARRAR, chaps. 5–7.

1. The historical character of the Christ. 2. His infancy. 3. His early life at Nazareth. 4. Legends of this period. (SALMON, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 175–90.)

§ 61. III. THE BEGINNING OF THE PUBLIC MINISTRY.

STALKER, 39–55; FARRAR, chaps. 8–11, 15; GILBERT, 117–57, 173–9.

1. John the Baptist. 2. The baptism and temptation. 3. The first disciples. 4. The ministry in Judea and Samaria.

§ 62. IV. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY.

STALKER, chap. 5; FARRAR, chaps. 22, 30, 32, 35; GILBERT, chaps. 10, 12.

1. Till the choice of the twelve.

a) The renewal of evangelization; *b*) the character of his preaching; *c*) the beginnings of the kingdom.

2. Till the withdrawal to the north.

a) The method of Jesus; *b*) the new character of his preaching; *c*) miracles; *d*) the break with the Pharisees; *e*) the break with the multitudes; *f*) the retreat.

3. Till the final abandonment of Galilee.

a) The growing revelation of himself; *b*) the conviction of the twelve; *c*) the exposition of Messiahship; *d*) the general results of the Galilean ministry.

§ 63. V. THE PEREAN MINISTRY.

STALKER, chap. 6; FARRAR, chaps. 43, 45, 48; GILBERT, chaps. 14, 15.

1. The chronological difficulties of this period. 2. Its general character. 3. The visits to Judea.

§ 64. VI. THE LAST WEEK.

STALKER, chap. 7; FARRAR, chaps. 54, 55, 58, 61; GILBERT, 357–84.

1. The arrangement of material. 2. The events of each day. 3. The betrayal. 4. The trial. 5. The crucifixion.

§ 65. VII. THE RESURRECTION.

STALKER, 146–50; FARRAR, chap. 62.

1. The data, 2. The order of events. 3. The risen Christ. 4. The significance of the resurrection. 5. The ascension.

II.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

WEIZSÄCKER, *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church;* THATCHER, *The Apostolic Church;* MCGIFFERT, *The Apostolic Age;* HOLTZMANN, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 127–35; HARNACK, *Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, Vol. I, 233–43, 717 *seq.* (trans. *Biblical World*, Vol. IX, 385 *seq.*); CONYBEARE and HOWSON, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul;* FARRAR, *The Life and Work of St. Paul;* STALKER, *The Life of St. Paul;* HORT, *Judaistic Christianity;* RAMSAY, *The Church and the Roman Empire; St. Paul the Traveler and the Roman Citizen;* SABATIER, *The Apostle Paul;* RENAN, *St, Paul; The Apostles;* SPITTA, *Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums;* SALMON, *Introduction to the New Testament;* PFLEIDERER, *Paulinism;* BURTON, *Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age;* WIESELER, *Die Chronologie des apostolishen Zeitalter;* HATCH, *Early Organization of the Christian Churches.*

§ 66. I. PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY AT JERUSALEM.

WEIZSÄCKER, Vol. I, 43–75; MCGIFFERT, chap. 2.

1. The period of waiting. 2. The beginning of propaganda. 3. The new problems resulting from growth. 4. Rudimentary organization. 5. Customs and institutions. 6. The relations with Judaism. 7. The Stephen party. 8. The first persecution. [The epistle of James ?]

§ 67. II. THE BEGINNINGS OF UNIVERSAL CHRISTIANITY.

STALKER, chaps. 2–4; FARRAR, chaps. 4, 10; WEIZSÄCKER, Vol. I, 79–101; RAMSAY, *St. Paul*, chap. 2.

1. The work of Philip. 2. Mission work among the dispersion. 3. Cornelius. 4. The founding of the church at Antioch. 5. The conversion of Saul.

§ 68. III. THE LIFE AND WORK OF PAUL.

1. Pauline Christianity.

McGIFFERT, chap. 3; WEIZSÄCKER, Vol. II, 123–74.

a) The place of experience in Paul's teaching; *b*) sin and righteousness; *c*) the work of Christ; *d*) the equality of faith; *e*) dynamic morality.

2. The evangelization of Cyprus and Galatia.

STALKER, 57–71; FARRAR, chaps. 19–21; RAMSAY, *St. Paul*, chap. 5.

a) First symptoms of opposition to Paulinism; *b*) the apostolic compact; *c*) the first missionary tour.

3. The evangelization of Europe.

FARRAR, chaps. 24, 27; RAMSAY, *St. Paul*, chaps. 7, 11.

a) New claims of Judaistic Christianity; *b*) The council at Jerusalem; *c*) The second missionary tour (Galatia, Macedonia, Achaia). [1 and 2 Thessalonians.]

4. The years of controversy and administration.

FARRAR, chaps. 32, 33; RAMSAY, chaps. 12, 13; STALKER, chaps. 7–9.

a) Judaistic propaganda; *b*) the Galatian defection [Galatians]; *c*) the third missionary tour; *d*) special difficulties: in Corinth [1 and 2 Corinthians], in Asia; *e*) the contribution and Paul's plans for the future [Romans]; *f*) Paul's last visit to Jerusalem.

5. The years of imprisonment.

FARRAR, chaps. 43, 45, 47; RAMSAY, *St. Paul*, chaps. 14, 15.

a) The arrest at Jerusalem; *b*) the imprisonment at Cæsarea; *c*) the voyage to Rome; *d*) the Roman imprisonment [Philippians, Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus]; *e*) the death of Paul.

§ 69. V. THE CHURCHES IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

McGIFFERT, 506–55; BURTON, *Records and Letters*, 224–30.

1. The fate of Paulinism. 2. Antioch. 3. Galatia. 4. Ephesus and Asia. 5. Macedonia. 6. Corinth. 7. Rome. 8. Organization. 9. Interrelations. 10. Relations with heathenism.

§ 70. VI. THE CHRISTIANITY OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

McGIFFERT, 636–72; HATCH, chap. 2.

1. The work of the twelve [1 Peter? 2 Peter? Jude?] 2. The rise of a Christian literature [Hebrews, Mark, Matthew, Luke, Acts, Revelations, 1, 2, 3 John? John]. 3. Ecclesiastical development. 4. Christian life. 5. Tendencies in thought and organization.

VLADIMIR MAKOVSKY'S "COME UNTO ME."

THE original is Matt. 11:28–30, 12:14–21 translated into paint. The scene is laid just outside a large town among the Galilean hills, in the clear shining of the Syrian sun. The blind, the lame, the sore-hearted and weary ones of its populace press appealingly around the tall, white-robed Redeemer, who with omniscient gaze moves among them in the quiet majesty of his divine sympathy and helpfulness. The artist — a Russian — Vladimir Makovsky, who should not be mistaken for an older brother Constantin, painter of a very different class of pictures, represents Christ as he utters the incomparable invitation, "Come unto me."

The picture throbs with the "sorrow of created things," bridging the span of human life by the patriarchal figure bent with the weight of heavy years, and the sick little son, brought for healing, in the arms of an anxious Bedouin father.

In the foreground a repentant woman prostrates herself prayerfully at the feet of the Master, hiding upon her arm the young face she shrinks from lifting to that of the Stainless One, who, knowing all her sad history, comes not to condemn, but graciously inspire to better living.

The lowliest and the privileged in the social scale meet in the scene, on the common ground of human need. An Ethiopian raises reverently to his lips the border of the healing robe; at his side kneels a woman richly attired, whose face is eloquent with the urgency of her petition.

There is told among the Russians a beautiful fable of a rare and wonderful plant that grows in the lowland steppes, whose tender blossoms are forever green, deathless, and free from all ravages of decay. Its sweetness is peculiar and has not its like upon the earth, to say nothing of its equal. The world is changed for him who breathes this ineffable fragrance. He is attuned to the harmony of the spheres. His wisdom is the widest, his knowledge the highest. The beasts of the field and the birds of the air divulge to him their secrets, and the song of the stars is his nightly inspiration.

Something of this sweet story of the lonely, barren steppes and its analogous resemblance to his subject must have been in the artist's mind when he painted this picture and thus depicted Him, that "tender plant and root out of a dry ground," who is become the Light and Life and Great Deliverer of men. JOHN POWELL LENOX.

SERMON OUTLINES.

COL. 4:5, 6:

> "Walk in wisdom toward them that are without, redeeming the time.
> Let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer each one."

Introduction: Dangers threatening the readers. Paul's way of linking profound doctrine with simple rules for daily conduct. Meaning of "walk" as a manner of life. Importance of speech as an index of character and means of influence. "Those without" an apt designation of the unsaved.

Theme: THE CHRISTIAN'S WALK AND CONVERSATION TOWARD THE UNCONVERTED.

I. *The wisdom required.*—The time is to be redeemed, every opportunity "bought up" in order to save them. This calls for

a. Intelligence. The foe is not insignificant.

b. Honesty. Be scrupulously just in dealing with them.

c. Winsomeness. Make the gospel attractive to those without it.

II. *The kind of speech needed.*

a. Graceful, "with grace," a fitting accompaniment to winning conduct.

b. Tactful, "with salt," as instanced in Paul's own speech and writings, *e. g.*, in Philemon.

c. Loyal to gospel truth. Aggressive when necessary, defensive when called upon to "answer each one."

This walk and conversation will make good witnesses for Christ in a sinful and unfriendly world.

EXEGETICAL CRITICISM.

The subdivisions *a*, *b*, *c*, under I, seem to find no direct basis in the text, except in the case of *a*. The third belongs rather under II. A more careful study of "wisdom" would have suggested a treatment more true to the apostle's thought. Under II, *c* is likewise not justified by the passage. In place of it there ought rather to be a discussion of the end to be served by "grace" and "tact," "that ye may know how," etc.

E. D. BURTON.

HOMILETICAL CRITICISM.

The editors of THE BIBLICAL WORLD requested me to criticise the above plan homiletically merely. The exegetical criticism will be given by another.

I will be hardly possible fully to comply with this request. In the case of a textual plan, like this under consideration, homiletical and exegetical criticism must necessarily, to some extent, cover the same ground. In fact, correct exegesis lies at the foundation of all good homiletical work.

The introduction of this plan is somewhat faulty. There should be but one important thought in an introduction; if there are several, unity is thereby destroyed. Now we find in this introduction, besides the explanation of terms, four thoughts, any one of which is apparently as important as either of the others: (1) the "dangers threatening the readers" of the epistle from which the text is taken; (2) "Paul's way of linking profound doctrine with simple rules for daily conduct;" (3) "importance of speech as an index of character;" and (4) as a "means of influence." These thoughts, so far as we can discover, are in no way logically connected with each other. If each were unfolded, the result would be four unrelated discourses. This introduction, therefore, is manifestly without unity.

Moreover, an introduction should lead into the thought of the main proposition, or of the theme for discussion. No one of the disconnected thoughts of this introduction leads into the theme here presented, except the fourth, "speech as a means of influence," which is vitally related to the latter part of the theme, "Conversation toward the Unconverted;" but the remainder of the introduction, so far as we can discover, has no logical connection with the theme.

If the case were different — if each of these independent thoughts really led into the theme — even then this introduction would be quite faulty, since the minds of those listening to a discourse built upon this plan, instead of being fixed on one thought leading into the subject of discussion, would be distracted by four. One portico is usually better than four for any ordinary house.

But the unrelated thoughts of this introduction are not even put together by themselves. Two of them are first presented, then we have the explanation of a term. Two others, in a compound sentence, are now expressed, to be followed by the explanation of a phrase.

The statements of this plan are not always felicitous, nor are they always clear. Paul did not link "profound doctrine with simple rules for daily conduct," but rather "simple rules for daily conduct" with "profound doctrine." He so presented moral laws as to reveal the fact that they were the inevitable effluence of "profound doctrine." "Meaning of 'walk' as a manner of life" is not a clear definition of the word "walk;" it is only an obscure hint of a definition.

Let us now notice the first main division, viz., "The Wisdom Required." This is not a part of the theme — *that* speaks of "The Christian's *Walk*." We should have naturally expected here the discussion of the first thought of the theme. But this portion of the theme seems to be ignored, and a second theme is introduced, apparently suggested by the important word "wisdom," found in the text. This new theme is, "The wisdom required to make every opportunity our own in order to save those that are without." This is a correct statement of the case, if we understand the author. He now adds, "This calls for," *i. e.*, the work of saving those that are without calls for (*a*) intelligence, (*b*) honesty, (*c*) winsomeness. This is a subordinate proposition of the first main proposition, "The Wisdom Required." Our criticism is that the first part of the main theme is not really discussed at all; but, instead, another theme is discussed. We also find here, as in the introduction, that the statements are not sufficiently explicit, and, on that account, are not clear.

For instance, under the subhead "Honesty," the author says, "Be scrupulously just in dealing with them," *i. e.*, with "those without." But the word "dealing" has such a variety of applications that we are left utterly in the dark as to the kind of dealing here referred to. And were it not for the phrase "winning conduct," which we find under the second main division, we should not know what he intended to express by "winsomeness."

The second main division, "The Kind of Speech Needed," corresponds to the latter part of the theme, "Conversation toward the Unconverted." We cannot criticise the author's interpretation of the phrases "with grace" and "with salt;" nor the meaning which he derives from the last words of the text. This belongs to the exegetical critic. But as the second division of the plan is strictly textual, and the last words of the text constitute a subordinate sentence, (*c*) should be subordinate to (*a*) and (*b*), and not coördinate as in the plan. And if the thought of the text is clearly understood and firmly grasped, it will be clearly seen that logic requires what grammar suggests. Sound logic and correct grammar are never at variance.

Finally, there is only the suggestion of a conclusion, but the suggestion is a good one. Still, just what the phrase "unfriendly world" means is not very apparent. Unfriendly to what, or to whom? But what does the author of this plan propose to say in conclusion? What use is to be made of the truth which he has endeavored to bring out of the text? Our criticism is that this plan has no conclusion, only a good hint of one.

We wish to say that the fundamental conception of this plan is excellent. On the basis of it, we have no doubt that the author either has preached, or will preach, an excellent sermon. Still, by studying it, we are convinced that as a plan it might be improved.

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MATERIAL FROM ENGLISH LITERATURE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS.

I. THE SABBATH. II. THE PRESENT AND THE FINAL DOOM OF THE GOOD AND THE WICKED. III. JOHN BEHEADED IV. CHRIST THE SON OF GOD.

By PROFESSOR MYRA REYNOLDS, PH.D.,
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I. *The Sabbath.*—A quaint poem on the Sabbath is Herbert's "O, Day, most calm, most bright." Vaughan in "Sun-Dayes" has conceits even more fanciful. Sundays are the steps by which we climb above the ages, the pulleys that draw us to heaven, lamps to light our "heap of days," hives of honey. Sunday is

> Transplanted paradise; God's walking houre;
> The cool o' the day!

Whittier in "First-Day Thoughts" gives a picture of "calm and cool and silence," where are no organ, no hymn, no censer, no dim light, but where the still small voice speaks to the heart the law of God. In his "Pennsylvania Pilgrim" there is a beautiful description of the "Fair First-Day Mornings:"

> With no peal
> To call them to the house of praise,
> The scattered settlers through green forest-ways
> Walked meeting-ward.
> Lowly before the Unseen Presence knelt
> Each waiting heart, till haply some one felt
> On his moved lips the seal of silence melt,
> Or, without spoken words, low breathings stole
> Of a diviner life from soul to soul.

The real theme in this lesson, however, is not the Sabbath. It is rather the true relation between the external act and the spirit that prompts it. The Pharisees strictly observed set rules, but did not thereby really keep the Sabbath. Christ broke these rules, yet he and his disciples kept the Sabbath in the true sense. Crashaw has a trenchant, epigrammatic little poem which illustrates this thought of the right subordination of external to spiritual values:

> Two went to pray. Or rather say,
> One went to brag, the other to pray.

One stands up close, and treads on high,
Where the other dares not send his eye.
One nearer to God's altar trod,
The other to the altar's God.

The stress which the Pharisees put on formal observances, the spirit of which they failed to receive into their lives, finds further apt illustration in Herrick's poem on "A True Lent":

Is this a fast — to keep
The larder lean,
And clean,
From fat of veals and sheep?
* * * * *
No! 'tis a fast to dole
Thy sheaf of wheat,
And meat,
Unto the hungry soul.

It is to fast from strife,
From old debate,
And hate—
To circumcise thy life.

To show a heart grief-rent;
To starve thy sin,
Not bin;
And that's to keep thy Lent.

Such poems as these doubtless represent the real thought of the lesson more truly than do poems directly on the Sabbath.

II. *The present and the final doom of the good and the wicked.*— A general statement of the theme of this lesson is that a man's ultimate fate is determined by his character, but that in this life external circumstances may combine to give him more of prosperity or of adversity than properly belongs to him. The classic literary treatment of the relation between sin and its future punishment is Dante's *Divine Comedy*. In its three parts the poem represents three possible attitudes of the soul toward sin. In the "Inferno" the soul suffers for sins unrepented; in the "Purgatorio" consciousness of sin leads to an attempt to turn from sin; the "Paradiso" represents the forgiven soul in happy union with God.

In Milton's *Paradise Lost* we have in the picture of the fallen angels a magnificent concrete representation of the final doom of those who fight against the will of God. The present doom of the wicked is symbolized by the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. The final salvation of those who accept Christ is portrayed in *Paradise Regained*.

In Goethe's *Faust* we have another great study of human destiny. In the first part is outlined the career of a soul delivered up to the mad pursuit of pleasure. He is willing to sell his soul for happiness. But desires recklessly and fearlessly followed lead to sins for which, even on this earth, his remorse is a doom almost as terrible as that awaiting him in the life to come.

In the second part of the poem there seems to be a change; in some way not very clearly manifest, Faust is shown as less and less under the power of Satan, and in the end the angels of heaven rescue Faust's soul, and the devil is baffled.

In Southey's *Curse of Kehama* the quaint motto, "Curses, like chickens, come home to roost," gives the keynote of the play.

"The New Jerusalem," beginning "O mother dear, Jerusalem," Faber's "O Paradise," and "The Pilgrims of the Night," and "The Celestial Country," by Bernard de Cluny, are perhaps the best known of the poems on the joys of the saved in heaven. Portions of this last poem, as "Jerusalem the Golden," and "For Thee, oh Dear, Dear Country," are used as hymns.

The part of this theme that finds expression in modern literature is the present rather than the future doom of the wicked, and this doom is made internal and spiritual. However favoring external circumstances remain, the wicked man exemplifies the words of Milton's Satan: "Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell." Browning's Andrea del Sarto, George Eliot's Godfrey Cass in *Silas Marner*, and her Tito Melemna in *Romola*, are good examples of the modern study of sin and its present results.

III. *John beheaded.*—In this lesson superstitious terrors and weak love for an unworthy woman lead Herod to sacrifice a man who stands as the prophet of the thought that is to save the world. Evil is temporarily victorious, but the death of John, when taken in connection with the after-history of Herod and of the cause John championed, makes the true theme of this lesson, the success that lies hidden in some kinds of failure. "The failures of some men are eternities beyond the successes of others," says George Macdonald. The thought is expressed in some noble lines by Joaquim Miller:

> O great is the hero who wins a name;
> But greater, many and many a time,
> Some pale-faced fellow who dies in shame
> And lets God finish the thought sublime.

Of Schill, the Prussian patriot who died in a vain attempt to liberate Germany, Wordsworth writes that, whether the nations shall count his name sublime or not, there is a Judge

> To whose all-pondering mind a noble aim,
> Faithfully kept, is as a noble deed;
> In whose pure sight all virtue does succeed.

Lowell, in "A Glance behind the Curtain," makes Cromwell say:

> All true, whole men succeed; for what is worth
> Success's name, unless it be the thought,
> The inward surety, to have carried out
> A noble purpose to a noble end,
> Although it be the gallows or the block.

Lowell had strong sympathy with all who stood by the right at personal cost. In "Kossuth" the hero says:

I was the chosen trump where through
Our God sent forth awakening breath.
Came chains? Came death? The strain He blew
Sounds on, outliving chains and death.

See, also, his "Commemoration Ode" for a splendid tribute to those who gave life itself to seal their faith in some ideal good, who, set on fire from heaven, chose danger and disdained shame. In "The Present Crisis" he comments anew and in a jubilant strain on the real victory of those who perish for the right:

Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne—
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.

Wordsworth speaks with the same exalted confidence to Toussaint L'Overture, who, his cause overthrown, was himself dying in an unknown Paris dungeon:

Though fallen thyself never to rise again,
Live, and take comfort. Thou hast left behind
Powers that will work for thee—air, earth, and skies—
There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee. Thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

IV. *Christ the Son of God.*—Christ, through his great works and his greater spirit, had planted deep in the hearts of his disciples a belief in his divine nature. To them he was the Son of the Living God. Arthur Hugh Clough has a poem in which he describes the eagerness of people to hear Jesus:

Across the sea, along the shore,
In numbers more and ever more,
From lonely hut and busy town,
The valley through, the mountain down,
What was it ye went out to see,
Ye silly folk of Galilee?

When the questioner finds that all the crowd hurries to see merely "a young man preaching in a boat," he wonders still more and asks, "whence he hath learned to speak? Who gave him his doctrine? Why is he preferred to the recognized teachers of Israel?" The answer is:

He teacheth with authority,
And not as do the scribes.

Whittier in "Our Master" speaks of Christ as

Most human and yet most divine,
The flower of Man and God!

and closes with the invocation,

O Lord and Master of us all!
Whate'er our name or sign,
We own thy sway, we hear thy call,
We test our lives by thine.

We faintly hear, we dimly see,
In differing phrase we pray;
But dim or clear, we own in Thee
The Light, the Truth, the Way.

Elizabeth Barret Browning in "The Dead Pan" represents Christ's death on the cross as the supreme event by which his sole Godhead rose complete, and as a result of which all the false gods of heathen nations "fell down moaning":

All the false gods with a cry
Rendered up their deity—
Pan, Pan was dead.
'Twas the hour when One in Zion
Hung for love's sake on a cross;
When His brow was chill with dying,
And His soul was faint with loss;
When his priestly blood dropped downward,
And his kingly eyes looked throne-ward,
Then, Pan was dead.

The real humanity and the divine power mingled in the nature of Christ are well expressed in Browning's "Saul." David loves Saul and would save him, but feels himself impotent. In Christ alone is there salvation for Saul, and David exclaims,

O Saul, it shall be
A Face like my face that receives thee; a Man like to me
Thou shalt love and be loved by, forever: a Hand like this hand
Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand!

Best of all is the "Prologue" to Tennyson's "In Memoriam":

Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
Whom we, that have not seen thy face,
By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
Believing where we cannot prove;
* * * * * * *
Thou seemest human and divine,
The highest, holiest manhood, thou;
Our wills are ours, we know not how;
Our wills are ours to make them thine.

Notes and Opinions.

In *Die christliche Welt* of a recent issue, an evangelical paper for the educated of all vocations, Professor Dr. Adolf Harnack, reviewing Ecke's book entitled *Ritschl und seine Schule*, makes two significant utterances which will be of much interest to readers of The Biblical World who are familiar with the importance of the Ritschlian movement in present religious thought. The one which will most interest biblical scholars refers to the incomparable dignity of Jesus Christ. Hermann, Professor of Theology in Marburg, and also a leading Ritschlian, has said that it is impossible for us to think of Jesus as highly as men once did. But Harnack, after justly praising Ritschl for his theism, his noble witness to the living God who is not interwoven with nature, declares: "There is no category (*Gattungsbegriff*), be it reformer, prophet, founder of religion, etc., under which we dare subsume Jesus Christ." This is a virtual admission of the uniqueness of the Son of Man. "There are manifold revelations, but for us there is only one *Master* and *Lord*," Harnack concludes. These are weighty utterances from a leader, and are deeply significant of the trend of theological thought.

The other remark has to do with the relation between philosophy and theology; and its significance is due to the persistent and powerful effort on the part of the Ritschlians heretofore to disengage theology from philosophy, on the grounds that the amalgamation of the two is the source of religious uncertainty and theological defeat. Beginning with the reserve clause that Ritschl had conquered speculative rationalism within evangelical theology, through a higher measure of historical insight — "driven it from the stage even" — Harnack proceeds as follows: "Speculative rationalism is now in process of transformation. When it has made history its own — in a higher sense than Biedermann has done — when, hearkening and learning, it has appropriated the entire wealth of historical reality and individual peculiarity, it will return — there can be no doubt of this — with seven spirits, and there will be no devil among them, but spirits of power and of light. Then once again will there begin a hot bat-

tle, and if by that time the Ritschlian consideration of things has not broadened, and if it has not shaped more ecumenically its *exclusive standpoint of revelation* [*italics* ours] — the Absolute is not *the Alone* (*das Einzige*), and under the same sun lie various zones — it will have a hard position. For, when we would reflect over history in its great features and tendencies, and desire to build something out of it, then are we all, whether believers in revelation or not, speculative rationalists, and decidedly so whether we be ashamed of it or not. There is no other way for thinkers.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE VISIT OF MARY TO ELIZABETH—ALBERTINELLI

Work and Workers.

Dr. Lyman Abbott is publishing in the *Outlook* a series of articles on "The Life and Letters of Paul."

Dr. John Henry Barrows delivered his lecture on "Natural Religion" at Harvard University February 18.

Dr. Selah Merrill has been reappointed United States consul at Jerusalem, a post which he has formerly filled with distinction.

The editors of The Biblical World would like to know the address of Rev. John Gray, who some time ago sent them an article for publication.

"A Workingmen's Bible Class" of two hundred and fifty is the one distinguishing feature of the Ruggles Street Baptist Church of Boston.

Rev. Geo. L. Robinson, Ph.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Knox College, Toronto, has been called to, and has accepted, the same chair in McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

Uniform prayer-meeting topics for 1899 have already been adopted by the Baptist Young People's Union of America, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, and the Epworth League.

The Christ of Yesterday, Today, and Forever is the title of a new volume by Rev. Ezra H. Byington, D.D., whose fame has already been established by his *The Puritan in England and New England.*

The Chicago Bible Society is taking steps to issue, in as cheap form as the Authorized Version, the Revised Version. This will answer a loud call from the more intelligent Bible students and workers.

Rev. Francis H. Rowley, of the First Baptist Church, Fall River, Mass., has been delivering a series of addresses to the Men's Club of the church upon Christ's teaching upon various social matters. This sort of organization and preaching is especially fitted for Sunday evenings and need not be confined to city churches. The Congregational Church of Morris, Ill., is successfully pursuing the same plan.

Rev. J. L. Campbell, Pastor of Lexington Avenue Baptist Church, New York city, is the conductor of an educational and pleasure pilgrimage to Palestine and southern Europe. The party, especially designed for pastors, will sail March 5.

Dr. J. J. Doedes, formerly professor of New Testament exegesis in the University of Utrecht, died December 16 at the advanced age of eighty years. The New Testament chairs of the Universities of Utrecht, Groningen, and Leyden are today filled by former pupils of Dr. Doedes.

Professor Dr. A. Schlatter has been called from Berlin to a newly established sixth chair of theology in the University of Tübingen. This was done in response to loud popular demand in Würtemberg for an element of conservatism in a faculty almost wholly made up of men of the liberal type.

The Moody Bible classes are a phenomenon in Chicago. As reported in the *Standard* of February 12, there are in all five classes during the week, omitting, of course, Wednesday evening, which is Chicago's church prayer meeting night. In these five classes the average weekly attendance is 3,700. They represent 300 religious organizations, and twenty-five denominations. Every class of society is represented, including even ministers and theological students. A great and renewed interest in Bible reading and study is reported in the most unexpected quarters, and by the unlikeliest of people.

A new hospital erected in the suburbs of Jerusalem by the London Society for the Spread of the Gospel among Jews is meeting serious opposition from the Jewish population, instigated by the rabbis. The hospital was opened in the city years ago, and was so largely patronized by the Jewish people as to make necessary a larger building for their accommodation. The cause of their opposition was the following inscription: "Hospital of the Society for Spread of Christianity among Jews." This aroused the indignation of the rabbis, who issued a powerful edict against the institution, threatening with ban any Jew who enters it as a patient or attendant.

The Young Men's Christian Association of Bridgeport, Conn., maintains a very successful Bible school. Its courses are of three divisions: devotional, practical, and evangelistic. Beginning with a class of six men, it has grown in four years to a memberhip of 246. The majority of the teachers have been graduates of the training

school in Springfield. The work is under the general supervision of J. W. Cook, the secretary, to whom much of its success is due.

The following are some of the courses: "Miracles of our Lord," "The Life of Christ," "Men of the Bible," "General View of the Bible." In addition there are special courses for workers.

YIDDISH is the jargon of European Jews. It is a conglomerate of Judeo-German, containing a residuum of Hebrew words and phrases, and abounding in colloquial expressions from various quarters of the world. The Hebrew scriptures have never been translated into this curious tongue, and so have never been accessible to the pure Yiddish population of the continent. It now appears that a Jewish missionary of the city of London mission has translated the whole of the Old Testament into a purified Yiddish. It is now merely the question of raising funds to publish this work — and they should be forthcoming instantly — when this exceedingly important work will be distributed among the millions of Yiddish-speaking Jews in Europe and America.

DR. CARL W. BELSER died in Denver, Colo., January 25, 1898. He was best known to Semitic scholars through his elaborate treatment of the "Babylonische Kudurru-Inschriften," his dissertation at the University of Leipzig, published in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. II, pp. 111–203. Upon his return from Germany he occupied the chair of Semitics at the University of Michigan. But frail health compelled him to seek a more exhilirating clime. He went to the University of Colorado, at Boulder, where he occupied the chair of Latin. But the hoped-for release never came, and in the midst of an unbounded energy for work — with a commentary on Quintilian well under way — he laid down his pen, and his life work. He was buried at Boulder, Colo., January 27, 1898.

THE Bible is a new text-book in China. The following incident is evidence that the conservatism of China is yielding to Christian enlightenment: Heretofore, in the examination of students for the master's degree in that country, the questions have been on literary lines, and limited to the literature of China. This year, by imperial edict, the questions asked and answered related to matters of importance at the present time, and the following question was read by 10,000 students in one of the examination halls: "What do you know of the repeopling of the earth by Noah and his family after the flood?" It is said that the statesmen, scholars, and students of China are studying the Bible, because it is the classic of Christian countries, and the

Pekin examiners who framed the above question had been reading the Old Testament, which is now recommended as a text-book, and there is an increasing demand for it.

Dr. John DeWitt, of the American Old Testament Revision Company, makes public some important items respecting the American Revised Version, in the *Independent* of February 3. The surviving members of the Revision Company have been actively at work since the issuance of the Revised Version in 1885, making corrections and embodying in the text the preferences of the American committee. It has been popularly supposed that all these were to be found in the appendix of the Revised Version, but we are happy to say that it contains only a part of them.

The "agreement" between the British and American companies barred the American committee from printing other than the official Revised Version of 1885 for a period of fourteen years, *i. e.*, until 1899.

The Merriam Park Presbyterian Church of St. Paul, Minn., has maintained for several years a Neighborhood Bible Class, whose work is of such a sort as to show the possibilities of such an organization in any church when properly conducted. The work for the coming year lies wholly within the Sermon on the Mount, which is believed to have a special message for the Christian men of today, and to be especially pertinent to times when social and industrial issues are conspicuous, and when men are honestly striving to know what is comprehended in the kingdom of God, as Christ used the term. The class meets every two weeks, and each session begins with devotional exercises, which are followed by a word study of some portion of the Sermon on the Mount. The remainder of the meeting consists of papers upon matters related to the teaching of Jesus, with review of books bearing upon the general subject of the relation of the teaching of Jesus to social matters.

Professor Bonwetsch, of the University of Göttingen, according to the daily press, has translated into German *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, an English version of which is now announced. He found it in a roll of parchment in the library at Moscow, Russia, written in old Slavic. He has traced the story back to a manuscript of the fifth century, also in the Moscow library (No. 172). Professor Bonwetsch says: "We have not been able to discover any version other than the old Slavic, but, judging from its literary form, it must go back to a Greek original not yet discovered."

Part of Professor Bonwetsch's translation, showing the style and kind of narrative, follows: "The book of the revelation of Abraham, the son of Terah, the son of Nahor, son of Serug, the son of Roog, the son of Arphaxad, the son of Shem, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methusaleh, the son of Enoch, the son of Arad.

"On the day when I polished the gods of Terah, and the gods of Nahor, his brother, when I thought, who is truly the strongest god, I, Abraham, at the time of my offering, when I had finished making the sacrifice of my father, Terah, to his gold, silver, brazen, and iron gods; going into their temple for service, I found the god called Marumath (made of hewn stone) fallen forward at the feet of Nahor's iron god."

THE New York Biblical Institute has been organized to provide "opportunity for post-graduate study and research in various branches of theological science at nominal cost, and with such arrangement and schedule as shall take into consideration the multitudinous demands and interruptions incidental to a busy pastor." The directorship aims to be made up of one representative of each of the principal denominations of the city. Dr. J. T. Duryea is dean of the faculty, Rev. J. Baumeister is secretary. Monday afternoons are the lecture seasons of the institute. During Febuary, March, April, and May there will be two lectures each Monday, one by an expert, somewhat critical in nature, and the other by a well-known and experienced person, on some practical theme. For February the following is found in the schedule: February 7, "Scholarship in Exegesis," by Rev. J. Baumeister; "The Ultimate Aim of the Preacher's Study of Scripture," by Dr. Duryea; February 14, "The Pastor in the Sick-room," by Dr. Wm. J. Peck; "The Religious Condition of Western Europe in the Fifteenth Century, I. The Church," by Dr. S. M. Jackson; February 21, the same themes continued by the same lecturers; February 28, "Some Progressive Church Methods," by Rev. A. E. Meyers; and Dr. Jackson delivering the third part of his general theme.

The initial meeting was held February 7. It is hoped later to draft into service the numerous theological experts of New York and vicinity.

Book Reviews.

Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Von THEODOR ZAHN. Erster Band. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Buchhandlung Nachf. (Geo. Böhme), 1897. Pp. vi + 489, 8vo. M. 9.50.

The first volume of this work deals with the languages spoken and written by the Jews of Palestine in the time of our Lord and the apostles; and with the epistle of James and the thirteen Pauline epistles.

The vernacular of the Jews of Palestine under Herodian and Roman rule is believed to have been Aramaic. It was in this tongue that Jesus spoke and taught. Both Jesus and his disciples, however, were able, if addressed in Greek, to reply in Greek. The apostle Paul is supposed to have been early taught the two languages. As a child in a Pharisaic family of Palestinian origin he must have learned Aramaic. That must have been his mother tongue. As a resident in the Greek Tarsus he would of necessity learn Greek. The two chapters in which these views are stated and illustrated are clearly as well as learnedly written. The method which is followed throughout the volume is this: The writer's opinions are first given with no references except to biblical passages. Special points are then fully discussed in smaller type. Distracting footnotes are in this way avoided.

The epistle of James, who is identified with James the Just, the brother of the Lord, is addressed to the "twelve tribes which are of the Dispersion." As that expression must mean either all Christendom thought of as the true Israel, or Jewish Christians who in the early days composed Christendom with the insignificant exception of a few Gentiles, the epistle must have been written, reasons Dr. Zahn, before an independently developing Gentile church had come into being through the missionary labors of St. Paul. Just about the time when the latter was founding the Gentile church of Lycaonia (50 or 51 A. D.) the most influential member of the Jerusalem church may have addressed this epistle to his scattered fellow-members with the purpose of keeping them together in spite of their dispersion. If so, this epistle must be regarded as the oldest of New Testament writings.

The epistle to the Galatians is supposed to have been written in Corinth during the apostle's first visit before he was joined by Silas and Timothy, thus before the first epistle to the Thessalonians. This view, which represents Galatians as the first of the Pauline epistles in order of time, rests on the identification of the term "Galatia" as used by Paul with the Roman province of that name, and on the consequent assumption that the Christians addressed were principally those residing in Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and the Pisidian Antioch. This theory, it is argued, accounts for the repeated mention of Barnabas in this epistle (2 : 1, 9, 13), explains the stigmata which the apostle bore in his body (6 : 17), and throws light on the obscure reference to himself as a preacher of circumcision (5 : 11). The stigmata, or marks, were doubtless the still fresh traces of the rough treatment experienced only a few months before in Philippi; and the last mentioned passage must refer to the circumcision of Timothy during the last visit to that part of the province of Galatia (Acts 16 : 3). Dr. Zahn's reasoning is clever and plausible, but it does not account for the close resemblance between Galatians and Romans which has been so clearly shown by Lightfoot.

The first epistle to the Thessalonians was written soon after the arrival of Timothy and Silas, and the second a few months later still. The dates of these three first epistles may have been: Galatians in the spring of 52 A. D., 1 Thess. in the following summer, and 2 Thess. in the late autumn.

The two epistles to the Corinthians and the circumstances which led to their composition are, of course, considered at considerable length. The first epistle is thought to have been written about the passover of 57 A. D. The four parties in the Corinthian church about which so much has been written were not fully organized parties. The use of the Aramaic expression *marana-tha* immediately after the anathema on those who love not the Lord Jesus Christ (16 : 22) is thought to point to Christians from Palestine as a disturbing element in the Corinthian church.

The epistle to the Romans is assigned to March, 58 A. D. The integrity of the epistle is strongly defended. The doxology which closes the epistle in the English Bible (16 : 25–27) is believed to have come originally after 14 : 23. The surprising view is advanced that the Roman church consisted mainly of Jewish Christians. There were, indeed, Gentiles in it, but they were relatively a small minority. The Roman church was more closely related to the churches of Palestine than to those of Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece. It is not easy

to make this view accord with the words: "That I might have some fruit in you also, even as in the rest of the Gentiles" (1: 13).

The epistles to the Colossians, the Ephesians, Philemon, and the Philippians are assigned, with most critics, to the first Roman imprisonment. Had Cæsarea been the place where the first three were written, the evangelist Philip would surely have been included in the list of persons sending salutations (Col. 4: 10–14). The general order of the four letters is given as above. Colossians and its two companion letters were written towards the close of the two years mentioned at the end of Acts. Philippians dates from the time of the actual trial, which fell a little later. The apostle's direct missionary labors were for a time suspended. Lightfoot's view of the false teachers of Colosse is partly rejected. The words (2: 18), "by a voluntary humility and worshiping of the angels," are taken to mean "by humility and worship such as are exhibited by angels," who are incorporeal spirits. Ephesians is regarded as a circular letter addressed to the Asiatic churches, exclusive of Ephesus and Troas.

The Pauline origin of the so-called pastoral epistles is maintained, but with a perceptible tone of hesitation. External and internal evidence shows that they must have been written before 100 A. D. That they were not invented during the first twenty years after the apostle's death is proved by the way in which persons and circumstances are referred to. "It is, therefore, advisable to meet the assertion that they are post-Pauline and contain non-Pauline material with the greatest distrust."

The whole volume is an exceedingly valuable contribution to the scientific study of the epistles and the life of St. Paul. Its strongly conservative attitude contrasts sharply with that of Jülicher's introduction, although even the latter exhibits a reaction from the extreme views in favor half a century ago. Both works ought to be read by those desirous of gaining a complete acquaintance with the results of modern research on the subject. W. TAYLOR SMITH.

The Kingdom of God: An Essay in Theology. *The Bohlen Lectures.* By REV. L. H. SCHWAB, Rector of St. Mary's Church, N. Y. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1897. Pp. xii + 276.

These lectures were delivered in Philadelphia in the winter of 1897 on the John Bohlen Foundation, and in their published form contain

an introduction and eight chapters. In the preface we are told that the inspiration of the work was found in "Albrecht Ritschl's great work on *Justification and Reconciliation*," and that "the method and main trend of thought are Ritschlian." Thus anyone who might read the title and take up the book with the expectation of finding something new on Christ's teaching concerning the kingdom of God will not be left in doubt as to the contents of the work in hand.

The author, however, does not consider it "fair to make Ritschl responsible for all that he has written." Yet upon perusal one will find that he has followed very closely in the path marked out for him by his master, and it is only in the last two chapters that he treats of subjects which were but hinted at by Ritschl. To anyone conversant with the Ritschlian theology this book will not be of much interest, except as a sign that this new type of German theology has its followers in the United States. To one who is unconversant with this later German product this book will come with something of a shock, and in order that he may regain his equilibrium it would be well for him to read such a book as Professor James Orr's *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith*. This will give him a concise and enlightened view of Ritschl's position and that of his school. If this foretaste be pleasing, he can go on to a deeper study of this new contestant in the field of systematic theology, to which the work of Rev. L. H. Schwab has been a good introduction. HAMILTON FORD ALLEN.

A People's Commentary, Romans and I and II Corinthians. A Popular Commentary upon a Critical Basis, especially designed for Pastors and Sunday Schools. By GEORGE W. CLARK, D.D. Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1897. Pp. xxiv + 424. Cloth, $1.25.

This is a good, practical commentary for readers who are unacquainted with Greek, and who desire a book at a low price. The author treats of the questions of introduction succinctly and conservatively, without troubling his reader with the differing views of other scholars. The commentary is condensed but clear, and evidently based upon a careful study of the original. We miss, to be sure, both in the analysis and in the commentary itself, a certain desirable sense of prospective, and breadth of view, a power of grasping the epistle as a whole; but this is probably due in some measure to the necessity of compression under which the writer worked, and is in any case to be

found only in the ablest books. We see no reason, however, why the author, having constructed a logical analysis, ignoring arbitrary chapter divisions, should then have placed his summaries at the beginning of the several chapters. The series of practical remarks which are occasionally added — unfortunately at the end of the chapters, instead of at the close of a section of the epistle — adds to its value for some Sunday-school teachers who will use it, but is not calculated to cultivate a just conception of what interpretation is. E. D. B.

An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. By S. R. DRIVER. Sixth edition, revised and enlarged; reset. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. xi + 576. $2.50, *net.*

The sixth edition of Professor S. R. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* is entirely reset, revised and enlarged. In addition to the former prefaces considerable new material is gathered in the preface to the present edition, particularly in reference to the progress of critical thought in Europe and America. Many indications of the growth of a more favorable sentiment toward critical studies are pointed out, and the regret is expressed that to so large an extent the treatment accorded critical results by conservatives is marked by "rhetorical depreciation and invective." Comments are made upon recent works both critical and archæological. The changes in the body of the work are not extensive, but serve to bring the discussion up to date by the addition of fresh literature to the admirable summaries at the heads of the different divisions, and by certain changes and additions in the text of the chapters. Among the additions noted in a rapid glance through the book may be seen remarks regarding the Holiness Code (pp. 51–9), the parenetic aim of the author of Deuteronomy 32 f. (p. 71), the Mosaic character of Deuteronomy (p. 91), the relation of Deuteronomy 5–26 to other parts of the book (pp. 93 f.), the character and date of the song of Moses, Deut. 33 (p. 98), remarks on Isaiah 18 and the literature dealing with it (p. 215), Isaiah 24:27, dating from the restoration, with quotations from Cheyne's *Introduction* (pp. 221 f.), the formation of the book of Jeremiah (pp. 271 f.), the reversal of the opinion expressed in the former edition on the date of Zech. 9–11 (pp. 349–51), the bearing of the recently discovered Hebrew original of Ecclus. 39–49 on the language of Qoheleth, grammatical and syntactical notes on Chronicles (pp. 538 f.). In addition, one notices the enlargement of the indexes, and

the addition of an index of English words and phrases to the Hebrew index. The additions to the book bring the number of pages up to 554, thirty-four more than the former editions contained, but the paging of the older edition is preserved by figures inserted within square brackets. The notation of passages is improved by the system of raised figures for verses. This edition, which contains the material prepared for the translation of the *Introduction* into German by Professor Rothstein in 1895, is now thoroughly satisfactory as a compendium of needed materials on Old Testament introduction. H. L. WILLETT.

Outlines of Jewish History from Abraham to Our Lord. By FRANCIS E. GEGOT, S.S., Professor of Sacred Literature of St. John's Seminary, Boston, Mass. Boston and New York: Benziger Bros., Printers to the Holy Apostolic See, 1897. $1.50.

This book is a volume intended for theological students, published with the approval of the ecclesiastical censor and with the imprimatur of the archbishop of Boston. It deals only with the briefest outline of the history, as its 372 pages would scarcely permit of more. The preparation of the material shows painstaking care and a fairly large use of competent authorities. There is manifested here and there a disposition to look at both sides of critical questions, but for the most part the rigidly conservative view is taken, for which perhaps apology may be made in view of the purpose of the book to afford a brief treatment of the theme for students. Yet, one may question whether an author who is dealing with materials which many of his readers will never seriously consider again has the right to disregard views which, in many cases, are rapidly superseding those advocated. There is observed a disposition to magnify somewhat unduly the earlier individual narratives treating of the lives of the patriarchs at the expense of a fuller statement regarding the much more important periods later on, especially the exile.

It is taken for granted that the laws of Israel are Mosaic, not alone in character, but in date. This perhaps finds some justification in the emphasis placed upon the ecclesiastical idea by Roman Catholic writers in the treatment both of the Old Testament and the New. There is the tendency throughout the book to emphasize the typical elements in the Old Testament in accordance with the older views of the relation of the Jewish to the Christian economy. In accordance with this view such characters as Joseph, David, etc., are made the

types of our Lord, and the whole of the Mosaic ritual is regarded as organized directly in view of the coming Christian church, and with corresponding features. It may also be remarked that but little attempt has been made in the treatment of Old Testament material to discriminate between historic facts and mere tradition and legend. The method by which sound conclusions are reached regarding the value of material in a given book ought not perhaps to be obtruded upon the attention of immature students, yet certainly no teacher can afford to disregard the value of the results of the critical method as they emerge from such a process.

Much emphasis is placed upon the predictive element in prophecy, far more than a just proportion warrants in view of the entire work of the prophets. These men are made little more than voices whose message relates entirely to the future. They are not living factors in the life of their own period, as the prophets are seen to have been. The proper names in the Old Testament are taken from the LXX. The names of Old Testament books are also in keeping with the Roman Catholic usage, as the four books of Kings, for 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings, and the books of Paralipomenon, instead of Chronicles. The author follows such Roman Catholic authorities as Van Hoonacker, LaGrange, and Pelt, in placing Nehemiah before Ezra. Considering the limitations placed upon the author by his audience, and the brevity compelled in the treatment, as well as by his theological point of view, the book may be called an admirable summary of Old Testament history and will answer excellently the purpose for which it was designed. H. L. WILLETT.

LITERARY NOTES.

A CHAPTER from the volume by Sienkiewicz, *Hania*, has been published under the title of *Let Us Follow Him*. It tells of the last days of Jesus, and presents in a very picturesque way events which might have happened, but probably did not happen, in connection with the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus.

RICHARD LE GALLIENNE, in his brochure, *If I Were God* (Crowell), has presented some of the doubts, and some of the answers to the doubts, which are characteristic of today's religious and semi-religious thinking. Though possessing much literary charm, the book is not very definitely written, and the title derived from an old tombstone is

its most striking feature. Nevertheless it is a book to be read and thought about, and it is especially to be favored in the case of those who are troubled with the problem of suffering.

In *The Christ of God* (New York, Putnam's) C. H. Mann has set forth a conception of Christ which it would be well for those who are tempted to materialistic views of our Master to consider. Probably in many particulars some would differ with him, and ascribe to Jesus more of a historic character than symbolical, but the book is written so earnestly and with such a devout spirit as to disarm criticism.

Dr. N. D. Hillis, of Chicago, has followed his collections of essays, *A Man's Value to Society* (which has now reached its ninth edition), with a similar volume upon *The Investment of Influence* (Chicago, New York, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co.; $1.25). The book is full of stimulating thought and cannot fail to be of value, especially to young persons, despite its occasional slips as regards accuracy in details.

The American Baptist Publication Society has issued in quarto size *The Isle that is Called Patmos*, by W. E. Geil. The volume contains a full description of the island as it is today, and its history. It is illustrated with a number of half-tone reproductions of photographs, is written in an interesting style, and will be of great interest to students of the New Testament, and especially to persons interested in the book of Revelation.

George Adams, D.D., has revised the *Biblical Museum* of James Comper Gray (New York, Herrick), of which the first two volumes have appeared. It is intended for use by Sunday-school teachers, and in it is gathered together a large amount of illustrative material, and some explanatory paragraphs. It is not a commentary in the proper sense of the word, but a book more after the nature of ordinary lesson helps. If one needs that sort of work, this is perhaps as good as anyone could find.

We have received the eighth volume of *The Expository Times*. This magazine holds its position among exegetical journals, not so much for its long and learned articles as for its ability to bring thought to a focus. It is made up of a large number of short, sometimes very short, paragraphs upon biblical texts and biblical literature, and comments upon rather than reviews of theological literature. No man can read it without keeping in touch with modern thought. We would also call attention

to the fact that The Christian Literature Company, 13 Astor place, New York, has arranged for issuing an American edition of the *Expository Times*, which reprints the material of the English edition one month late, and adds to it about thirty pages of material prepared by American scholars.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS have imported a translation of Christlieb's *Homiletics*. The volume covers all the various kinds of homiletic work and is destined to be of value to American preachers as well as to German. It is to be regretted, however, that the translator did not add illustrative material from English literature, as most of the literature to which Christlieb himself refers is inaccessible to clergymen. The book is not inspiring reading, but is thoroughly scientific, and to be recommended as presenting systematically the art of sermon writing.

DR. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities of the British Museum, has just issued, through the house of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London, a new and complete edition of *The Book of the Dead* in three volumes. Vol. I contains the complete Egyptian texts of the Theban recension, printed in hieoroglyphic type; Vol. II is a complete vocabulary of the great work, containing over 35,000 references; Vol. III is made up of an English translation of Vol. I, with an introduction containing chapters on the history, object, and contents of the book; the resurrection; the judgment; the Elysian fields; the magic, etc. This third volume is illustrated by three large facsimiles of sections of papyri, printed in full colors, and eighteen plates illustrating the palæography of the various recensions of *The Book of the Dead* from B. C. 3500 to A. D. 200 — all at the cost of £2 10s.

WE have received from the Macmillan Company, New York, a *History of the Early Christian Literature in the First Three Centuries*, by Dr. Gustav Krüger, Professor of Theology at Giessen, translated by Rev. Charles R. Gillett, A.M., Librarian of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, with corrections and additions by the author. (New York: Macmillan, 1897; pp. xxiii + 409; $2.) A review of the German edition (1895) of this most useful handbook was published in THE BIBLICAL WORLD, April, 1896, pp. 309–12. Mr. Gillett has placed English-speaking students under obligations by translating this work. He has had the help and assistance of the author, who has made a number of corrections and added new material to the

literature. The book is pleasing to the eye, and the translation reads very smoothly. It is to be regretted, however, that a number of errors of the original German edition have been reproduced in this English translation. Some of these errors were pointed out by reviewers of the German edition, and it would have been a service to the author, as well as to the English readers, if the translator had examined the contents of these reviews before publishing his translation. References to many English and American articles and books are sadly missed — an omission quite pardonable in the German book, but of which the American translator should not be guilty. Also, much valuable foreign literature, especially of recent date, is not registered in this translation. It is true that we find a number of additions that are not given in the German publication of 1895, but even though we are thankful for these, we cannot refrain from saying that the translator has been very arbitrary in the choice of his additions. The best plan to pursue would have been either to reproduce the German original as faithfully as possible, or to bring the literature uniformly down to date.

Professor David S. Schaff, of Lane Theological Seminary, has published (New York: Chas. Scribners' Sons; $3) a biography of his father, Philip Schaff. The appearance of the book is well-timed, and, since it is in good degree autobiographical, enables us better to understand the true theological attitude of the man who, with Robinson, Stewart, Hackett, and Abbott, must always be regarded as the most prominent of American biblical scholars. If it be true that, unlike that of these men, his work was rather of the encyclopedic and editorial order, no man can read the bibliography appended to this biography without a new appreciation of its solidity and permanence. It will not be soon that to the same man it will be given to edit a series like that of Lange, and the *Popular Commentary*, as well as an encyclopedia like that of Herzog; to produce a scientific church history in six huge volumes, and a collection like the *Creeds of Christendom;* a manual of New Testament criticism; and to serve so prominently in a revision of the English Bible. (Pp. xv+526.)

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THE PARABLE OF "THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS"

Sir Frederick Leighton

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME XI APRIL, 1898 NUMBER 4

CRITICISM AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE

IN the search for that authority which seems indispensable to all religious thought, appeal is generally made among Christians to the Bible. Indeed, such an appeal may be regarded as universal. For, while it is true that a large branch of Christians hold tradition to be of equal authority with the Scripture, and the deliverance of the pope, when acting in his official capacity and with reference to religious matters, to be infallible, even in these cases the supreme standard is the Bible, and if that be displaced from its authoritative position by criticism, all other authority is shattered.

For most persons, also, it has been very difficult to separate the question of the authority of a teaching from that of its authenticity. It is, therefore, natural that the attitude of many earnest Christians toward criticism should be one of suspicion, if not hostility. Accepting the Bible as true on the basis of its authors, they look with apprehension at any questioning of the authenticity of its various books. Indeed, the heart of the opposition to criticism is precisely this—men fear that it is destroying the authority of Scripture.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTION

It is no reply to such a fear simply to deny absolutely the connection between authenticity and authority, and to plead that all truths are true irrespective of their promulgators. This is undeniable in the case of certain of them, because tests are at hand by which they may be tried on their own merits. But the authentication of other truths

is wholly personal. Other things being equal, a decision of a doctor as regards a disease is more authoritative than that of a carpenter, just as the latter's is of more authority in the case of a house. So the world has always accepted certain teachings of Jesus as authoritative, not because it could test them, but because he uttered them. If once their authenticity is disproved, their authority is lost. The same is to a less degree true of other men, notably of Paul, in whom a peculiar experience warrants certain teachings in a way that is not true of other men.

Criticism as Corroborating Authority

The question is, therefore, a fair one: Are these fears justifiable? Is criticism of necessity a foe to the authority of Scripture? It cannot be denied that in many cases its first results are unsettling. But first results are not always true criteria. They themselves may be unjustifiable. A more careful consideration will show that in two particulars criticism is not, and cannot be, hostile to scriptural authority.

1. On the one hand, criticism, so far from undermining, has actually corroborated the authority of the Bible. This is true at the very center of Christianity—the persons and teachings of Christ and Paul. Here, where more than in any other place authenticity lies below authority, criticism has largely remade the foundations of confidence. The historical character of Jesus, his personality, the authenticity of his teachings, his death and subsequent manifestations, the conversion of Paul, the authenticity of his most important letters—all these are far more credible today than a half century since, as the result of criticism. The same is equally true of prophets like Jeremiah, Hosea, and the real Isaiah. Indeed, criticism, by more accurately describing its relations with its times, has given altogether new significance and credibility to prophetic teaching. And if more credible, then more authoritative.

2. On the other hand, criticism, in questioning or in disproving the authenticity of certain books or parts of books, and in

separating books formerly regarded as homogeneous into constituent documents, may seem to have thereby lessened the authority of the Bible. Such is the case in so far as authority is wholly dependent upon authenticity. But some teachings are true wholly apart from those who present them. They have already been tested and always approved by experience. In some cases such experience is a man's own. A truth is known to be truth, because, to use Coleridge's phrase, it has "found" a man. In a wider fashion, also, as one watches the working of teachings among men in general, the fact that when once they are put into operation they are found to produce certain desirable results is sufficient to lead one to make them authoritative for one's self. Indeed, it is possible to apply this test of experience to most of the teaching of the Old Testament, and thus to arrive at a conviction as to its applicability to modern life. Truths thus established can no more be shaken by the discovery that they were not uttered by the men whose names they bear than the law of gravitation would be affected should it appear that it was discovered by some other man than Newton. In fact, so far as such teachings are concerned, the question of the authorship of biblical books, considered in itself, is hardly more than a matter of archæology.

As Affecting the Argument from Experience

But what, then, shall be said concerning those portions of the Scriptures whose authenticity has been affected by criticism, and which contain teaching which is of such a nature as not possibly to be tested by experience? Can they still be said to be authoritative?

To this it may be replied that the case here is somewhat similar to that of teaching accepted upon the basis of its propounder's character. As the teacher gives authority to the teaching, so the recognition, either through one's own experience or through that of other men, of the truth of a teaching contained in a document whose author is unknown becomes the basis of a sort of induction that leads to the conviction that more of the document's contents is true. Such a conviction

supplements that already reached and becomes a "working hypothesis," which is authoritative for action until larger light come.

Conclusion: Total Effect of Criticism

If all this is true, it cannot be said that criticism is necessarily in its effect hostile to the authority of Scripture. It does tend to bring into clearer relief that which the New Testament teaches, and which the church has always held, and more or less consistently applied, viz.: that all Scripture is not equally authoritative for men of today. It does tend to emphasize the necessity of experience in relation to the truth of the Bible, and its value as an evidence of the authority of the Bible. It does set in clearer light the supreme authority of Jesus. But in none of these things does it tend to destroy the authority of the Bible. On the contrary, impartial and reverent criticism tends, so far as it touches the matter at all, to establish the authority of the religious and moral teaching of Christ and the prophets and the apostles. A man may be a thoroughgoing critic, fearless of results in so far as he is seeking reality, and yet make the teaching of Jesus the dominating principle of his life. He may be thoroughly uncertain as to the authorship of Isaiah or the pastoral epistles, and yet find in them inspiration and directions for conduct. His reason will tell him repeatedly to accept teaching which is outside experience because of its author or its intimate association with teaching that has been tested. And if (as may very likely be) there still remain some teachings to which none of these tests apply, they will be among those things on which, since they have but remote relation to faith and conduct, he can afford to wait for further light.

THE POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

By Professor Harry Pratt Judson, A.M., LL.D.,
The University of Chicago.

In speaking of a political quality in the teaching of Jesus we, of course, do not forget the fundamental fact that his personal work with men was more explicitly social—that he clearly and emphatically disavowed a political aim. Over and over again he enforced this truth: "My kingdom is not of this world"—"The kingdom of God is within you"—"Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's." The Jews were expecting a temporal king—a political redeemer, who should overthrow the Romans and restore the independent Jewish government. Jesus was no politician, no soldier, no conspirator. He sought only to overthrow the reign of evil in the human heart, and so to make society a sweeter and nobler thing. Thus plainly he was no political Messiah, and the restless Jewish politicians would have none of him. They were like the politicians of every age—caring little for social reforms, plotting always for preferment, blind to whatever could not be wrought into their own plans. The gospel of Jesus was individual, spiritual, social. The teaching of Jesus contains no political philosophy.

While all this is true, yet it is also true that in its results the influence of the teaching of Jesus on the political development of human society has been powerful, constant, far-reaching. This influence, of course, has not been isolated. The forces which go to make up progress are many and are very complicated in their interaction. Still, it is not difficult to estimate the tendency of any given impulse. It is the precise value of the effect it produces which is baffling. Sociology is not an exact science. It is not susceptible to mathematical measure-

ment. But yet it is possible to observe the direction and, to a large extent, estimate the effect of given social tendencies. The teaching of Jesus, as men have understood it, has been one of the most potent social forces in all the centuries since his time. It has certainly been one of the most lasting forces — present all the time, in all civilized lands, with very varying power to control society, it is true, but, when overborne for a space, never failing in the end to resume its influence.

But a force so constantly operative in social life cannot fail to have an effect on political organization and action. Government, after all, pretty fairly reflects social conditions. Nothing which profoundly modifies those conditions can fail in some shape to influence government. The teaching of Jesus has thus finally had a marked political effect, because, first of all, it has had a marked social influence.

At the outset the Roman officials misunderstood the new religion. They could make nothing of it but some sort of political conspiracy, and so they attacked it. But this official conception of Christianity was a mistake. The Christians submitted patiently to the government of the day, giving no thought to revolutions or reformations in the state, but absorbed in their dreams of a future life and in the eager striving to rescue men from heathenism. By the time this attitude of the Christians had finally become clear the state was itself transformed through the new faith. The men who formed the government were themselves Christians. They worked under the impulse of the new religious ideas, and so made the empire Christian in its governmental forms. This was not the issue of a struggle between Christendom as an organized force on the one side and organized heathendom on the other. The Christian empire was simply the old imperial idea working through the dominant popular thought. That thought in the time of Augustus held the supreme will to be that of the Roman people. The supreme will of the day of Constantine was found in the deity of the Christians. The will of the emperor was law in either case, because he was recognized as the legitimate repository of the supreme will — whether *vox populi* or *vox dei*, it mattered not.

Jesus taught Jewish monotheism, and through the labors of his followers this became the controlling religious idea of Roman civilization. In this way there was a close relation between the teaching of Jesus and the political theory on which the Christian empire was based. But while this is true, it is also true that in the objective realization of the empire — in the form and working of government and its control of society — there was no material difference between the Christian empire and the heathen empire of Augustus. The difference was in theory. And thus the first political result of the teaching of Jesus was in the philosophy of the state.

The second result was the reaction on the state of the Christian church.

Whether the church as an organization was created by Jesus himself, or was the growth of subsequent conditions, may, perhaps, well be questioned. However, it is clear that in either case the church organization was a clear necessity of the teaching of Jesus. That teaching was social as well as individual. The disciples were made missionaries. Association, union, dissemination of the truth, were cardinal principles in their training. But to the application of such principles organization is an absolute necessity. Thus grew up that powerful, non-political, but persistent and wide-ruling social organization, the Christian church. In its later form it might, or might not, have embraced the spirit of the founder. But whatever the form, it certainly was the outgrowth of the teaching of Jesus.

The church as socially organized, with its hierarchy, its forms of worship, and its multifarious activities, was undoubtedly by no means primarily a political agency. All that the church wanted of the state at the outset was tolerance. Later it needed also protection. But with the disintegration of the Roman empire came strange and distressing social exigencies, and the church was gradually led to assume important political functions.

As the imperial government crumbled, local authority in numerous cases, almost of necessity, fell into the hands of church officials. The strange phenomenon was presented of a state organization melting away, while that of the church remained

unimpaired. People were in the habit of obeying civil officials in secular matters, and ecclesiastical officials in affairs of religion. But the one class was falling to pieces. The other remained, together with the habit of obedience and the pressing need of social order. So it was but natural that church officers were more and more called on to preserve order and to maintain justice. Thus the government of many Roman municipalities in those centuries of disorder passed, for a time, largely into the hands of ecclesiastics. In that way the church which had come from the teaching of Jesus comes to have a considerable number of political functions.

When the German heathen had occupied the empire and had become Christian, the church gained a new position. No longer subject to the Roman emperor, whom they had been wont to obey, the ecclesiastics held a different attitude to the new rulers. To them the priests could speak with a spiritual prestige and authority unmeted in the empire. Thus gradually in those rude and fierce times the organized church grew into no little political power. This power was not enough to bring civilization out of the barbarism which had overspread society, nor was it sufficient to keep the church itself from sharing to some extent in the crudeness and rudeness which had replaced Roman culture. However, such as it was, the politics of the darkening and of the dark ages was to some extent guided by churchly influence.

It was out of this influence that the papacy became a great political power. No time need be spent here in discussing the growth and complexity of the political relations of the mediæval papal church. Suffice it to say that under the popes the Christian church universal was the counterpart of the Roman universal empire, and that its direct power over secular government was enormous. That power has by no means vanished. The papal influence is yet potent in the politics of more nations than one. In the German imperial Reichstag the Catholic church party was too strong even for Bismarck, and to this day is often able to make terms and to dictate policies. The same party is a positive and living force in Austria, in Italy, in Spain, in

France. Political parties come and go. Gambettas and Cavours and Bismarcks pass away. But the Catholic church never dies. The state, in the light of modern ideas, may control it. But that control is not absolute. The church powerfully modifies the action of the state.

To the influence of the organized church belong the long line of political churchmen—Richelieu, Mazarin, Wolsey. Their individual powers were great, undoubtedly. Yet in the end they owed their exaltation to the vast and vigorous organization behind them. Of course, such careers are possible only in states in which the church is established by law. Disestablishment has always come from the state, not from the church, and implies a secular jealousy of ecclesiasticism which makes priests and prelates impossible in places of high political trust. It is this fact which in our own country has embodied in the constitutions of so many states the disqualification of clergymen from holding political office. On the other hand, in times of close union between church and state it was not the pope alone who was a temporal sovereign. Bishops and abbots without number ruled wide domains as secular princes, down to, and in some cases far into, this very century in which we live.

All this exhibits the political power which has been wielded by the Christian church. Such power has been felt to be a tyranny, and in most countries has been largely diminished. The struggle for disestablishment has been long and bitter. Through the most of Europe the church yet retains some form of legal union with the state. In America church and state are thoroughly separated. But the established church even in liberal England has yet a great political power—a power sufficiently indicated by the presence in the House of Lords of twenty-six of the bishops, and by the fact that English prelates and priests are officers of the state.

But the political influence of the church is after all an indirect result. The most direct influence of the teaching of Jesus on the political organization of society, and an influence fairly comparable with that of the organized Christian church, has come

from the very essence of the original teaching itself. In that nothing is more fundamental than the constant implication of the essential equality before God of all human souls. The parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, the parable of the Lost Sheep, the Laborers in the Vineyard, the danger of riches, the lessons of humility, and countless other teachings, illustrate the way in which Jesus looked at the life of this world. Differences of rank, of wealth, of birth, of learning, to him signified nothing. The one thing needful was to be of the kingdom of God, and the entrance to this was open alike to high and low, rich and poor, learned and simple. This was the lesson which the disciples carried into the Roman world—the lesson that every human soul is equally precious—a lesson which ran counter to the whole stream of existing society. But the Christian church, however it may vary in outward structure and in doctrine, has at its heart the democracy of the teaching of Jesus. This democracy in some shape has never left it. It has been one of the most significant contributions of Christianity to the development of modern society. And it has had a far-reaching effect, political as well as social.

That this essential democracy of the teaching of Jesus should avail alone to transform and permanently to control society is not to be expected. Powerful forces tending to class distinctions and to aristocracy have more than once been sufficient to countervail Christian democracy. The feudal organization of the Middle Ages was eminently aristocratic, and the Roman church itself, in its elaborate hierarchy, in its prelates of noble birth, and in its temporal sovereignty of pope and prelate and monastic foundation, has been more than tinctured with aristocracy. Slavery and predial serfdom are the most undemocratic of institutions. Yet it can hardly be said that their abolition was very directly or very largely due to Christianity. Still, Christian doctrine, however overlaid with human perversions, after all has never lost its democratic essence. And this fact has had many results of grave importance.

The mediæval monasteries were one agency of democracy. The peasant could seldom escape his thralldom if he remained

on his lord's estate. But the peasant might enter the monastery —might become a monk—and thus he was beyond the reach of his temporal tyrant, and a new life of considerable possibilities was in his grasp. If he had the talents and energy to rise, he might win his way to monastic official place, and in that event he might become a temporal as well as a spiritual ruler; he might be called to the counsels of baron or prince. Thus doubly the monastery had a democratic influence on mediæval politics—it offered a way of escape to the individual from feudal tyranny, and it opened to the common man the possibility of political power. And monastic democracy was the democracy of the teaching of Jesus.

But the secular as well as the regular clergy recruited their ranks from all social classes. The plain man who entered the church acquired the best learning of the time. Thus he was, in legal and political matters, the adviser of the laity. He might become a prince of the church and be called to the aid of monarchs. In this way the man of simple blood shared in that mighty political as well as social power of the mediæval churchmen. These churchmen laid the foundation of the civil law on the continent and of the common law in England. They were chancellors and justiciars and political ministers of all grades. They sat in the great council of the realm and had a potent voice in shaping legislation and state policies. In the sixteenth century the clergy were a majority of the English House of Lords. There is a long list of clerical statesmen in mediæval England, not a few of whom were men who rose to place and power by their own exertions, without the aid of inherited rank. This is sufficiently illustrated by an examination of the list of lord chancellors. Becket was the son of a London merchant. William of Longchamp, bishop of Ely, *tempore* Richard I, is recorded as "of mean extraction." The famous William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, was of common birth, as were both the de Stratfords, all chancellors in the reign of Edward III. The same was true of John de Chishal, Ralph de Baldock, Cardinal Thomas Langley, Cardinal Thomas Kempe, Bishop Robert Stillington, Bishop Thomas

Rotherham, Bishop John Alcock, and of yet others who need not be named. Thomas Wolsey, the great cardinal and chancellor of Henry VIII, was the son of a butcher.

Thus the church in the Middle Ages was an avenue by which the common people could obtain political power—and thus the democracy of the teaching of Jesus, carried out in the policy of the church, was a means of leavening the aristocratic feudal state with democracy. The Protestant Reformation was an appeal from popes and councils to the conscience and judgment of the individual. This in matters theological and ecclesiastical was pure democracy. It was a startling change in an age accustomed to authority in church and state alike. Doubtless not a few found themselves unable to give fair consideration to the arguments of Wiclif and Huss and Luther just because the implication seemed so revolutionary—it shocked settled habits of thought. The reformers appealed to the teaching of Jesus and claimed the right to interpret that teaching by their own reason. The conservatives stoutly denied such claims, and insisted on the heaven-born authority of limited classes to prescribe what all should believe. This was not at all different from the existing theory of the state, in which the law for all was the will of an aristocratic few. So, in truth, the new doctrines struck at the foundation of the state as well as of the church. Democracy in faith led by inevitable sequence to democracy in politics. Doubtless few of the reformers realized this, though it was dimly apprehended by some of them, and perhaps by more of their opponents. Kings and nobles instinctively sided with clerical authority. This community of cause emerged into clearness at the time of the English peasant revolt of 1381. The Lollards, aiming their attack at ecclesiastical usurpations and abuses, had strong support from the nobles. But the socialistic rising of the peasants, apparently inspired by the spirit of Wiclif, and assailing noble as well as churchly privilege, profoundly alarmed laymen as well as churchmen. Church and state were suddenly realized to have a common foundation. If one should be undermined, the other would totter. Thus there was a revulsion of public feeling, and this

premature English reformation failed largely because its democratic political tendency was perceived and dreaded.

In the sixteenth century the reform ecclesiastical was taken up anew, and apparently quite apart from any democratic or socialistic tendency in the state. The nobles in France, princes and nobles in Germany, the king himself in England, were associated in the movement. But the political disruptive tendency was inevitable. In France and Germany the state was torn by religious wars — wars which were fought in behalf of religious toleration, but which of sheer necessity were based on a negation of monarchical absolutism. In the Low Countries this went so far that out of the stress of the long strife there emerged a republic — the first political fruit in modern days of the reformative interpretation of the teaching of Jesus.

The sequence was inevitable. If men could judge for themselves as to the meaning of the religious doctrine of Jesus, it followed that in matters of faith all men had equal rights. But if so, then it was but a short step to the demand for equal rights in the state. It was Holland which first won freedom from a despotic king in the inspiration of the new faith. England followed, working out the religio-political syllogism to its logical consequence in the commonwealth. Martin Luther meant the English Bible. The Bible meant Cromwell. And all together meant a democratic republic both in church and state. To be sure, the English commonwealth was as premature in the state as had been Wiclif's movement in the church. The reaction brought back the Stuarts and the aristocratic church, and the political reform was put off nearly two centuries. At last, after the French wars were ended, the reform bill of 1832 took up the work where the Commonwealth dropped it, and in our own day we see England virtually a political democracy.

The old churches, whether Roman or English, have been allied with autocracy and with aristocracy in the state. For all that, however, both have been thoroughly leavened with the democracy which is inseparable from the teaching of Jesus. Nothing can be more democratic than the social work and worship of the Roman church, for example, and this has undoubt-

edly given a great impetus to the democratic trend of the modern state. South Germany is Catholic—but it is also democratic in politics. It is Protestant Prussia which is today the stronghold of feudal aristocracy in Germany.

The nineteenth century is signalized by the great wave of democracy which has swept over all nations. Government rests on the masses in a new sense now. Aristocratic privileges have vanished away in nearly all the world. Modern governments are controlled by parliaments, and parliaments are chosen by the people. Equality before the law, universal suffrage, representative assemblies—these have taken the place of the political inequalities and narrow despotisms which characterized feudal society.

This has been the great revolution of modern times. Its causes have been more than one, undoubtedly. Its progress has been the resistless sweep of a tidal wave. But it can hardly be doubted that one powerful and never-ceasing force which has pushed it on has been the democratic teaching of the Christian church—the democratic teaching of Jesus. If men are equal before God, why should they not have equal rights before human law? This is the political truth which is interwoven in Christianity. By the teaching of Christianity through long centuries it has been driven deep into human consciousness. It is now the common thinking of civilized men.

In these ways, then, the teaching of Jesus has affected politics. The political philosophy of the Roman empire was transformed. The church which was organized to embody the ideas of Jesus has in one way or another had a powerful political influence. The essence of his doctrine—common humanity, common sinfulness, common accountability to God, the equal preciousness of human souls—this is democracy. It has been a perpetual lesson which has helped to make clear to men the folly and wrong of class tyranny, and to inspire the masses in the struggle for emancipation.

Dominant Christianity means dominant democracy,

POPULAR BIBLE STUDY IN SCOTLAND.

By Reverend George Steven,
Edinburgh.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that the Bible is still peculiarly dear to the mass of the Scottish people. Whatever decline there may be in national religion, whatever forces may be materializing their conception of human life, the body of the nation is still true to their fathers' love of the Bible. No one, of course, can tell to what extent it is neglected or can compare the Bible reading of today with that of a past generation—the most observant say that it is much less common than it was. But that does not prevent their saying, also, that the most effective portion of the people is feeding its soul on this one book. They read it, and they read it that they may know God. No story of Scottish life can exaggerate its influence upon Scottish character. For many a peasant woman and city artisan it is still the single and unapproachable means of culture.

But that reading is not what we shall speak of as the study of the Bible. It is not everyone that reads who studies, who has a clear and definite knowledge of either contents or meaning. In this sense, study is not a common thing anywhere or at any time, and of the Bible it may also be said that, while thousands read, and love to read, and read it with appreciation and profit, there are comparatively few that give their strength to know thoroughly what it means. And yet the comparatively few are many.

We can best describe the direction and results of popular Bible study by taking in view the common methods in vogue for furthering it.

And, first, *the Minister's Bible Class.* Every minister has felt the need of supplementing his pulpit teaching by what is more direct and individual; and no means could be more effective

than this gathering of young men and women on Sunday evening. The Bible class is, one might say, even popular in Scotland. Of course, its popularity and the worth of the teaching given at it will depend almost entirely on the power of the teacher — on his equipment and the amount of work he puts into it. Some men have their hearts in it, see the opportunity it gives of forming opinion and character, and read and prepare for it with their whole strength. The result is that the attendance will sometimes reach two hundred, or it may be even five hundred. In these classes the minds of the young are awakened; they have their interest in the Bible determined for life; and they look back long years after and tell how they owe their very souls to it. Of course, in rural parishes the classes must be small, but, none the less, the ministers of these parishes know that their best office-bearers have often been formed there; while city ministers as readily acknowledge that the very élite of their workers have been trained by their country brethren.

A great stimulus was given to this work some twenty years ago and more by Dr. Whyte, of Free St. George's, Edinburgh. It took the form of a scheme of studies and examinations now widely known as the "Welfare of Youth Scheme." Prizes and certificates of honor were offered to the successful candidates; books of study were prescribed, and centers of examination were appointed throughout the whole country — in the remotest parishes and islands, and sometimes even in the colonies. The scheme was launched in the Free Church of Scotland, but has been taken up by most of the other churches. Last year in the Free Church (where, naturally, it has been most cultivated) no fewer than 6,000 candidates sent in their names. And the candidates, it must be remembered, are but a small proportion of those who undertake the study. It would not be surprising to learn that as many as 50,000 young people were attending the classes; it has been stated as high as 70,000. In many a rural parish the chief educational interest among those who have left school is this study and this examination; in many a manse during the spring months the minister's leisure is spent in preparing his best pupils for it. And their success is all the

reward he seeks. In the parlor of farm house or farm laborer's cottage, or of tradesman or mechanic in town or village, the visitor will see adorning the wall the framed certificate of honor won by a son or daughter of the house, or perhaps by the husband or wife. Everyone will see that it is an immense service to a country to bring tens of thousands of its youth yearly into living contact with the Word of God and to make their knowledge of it definite enough for them to pass a searching examination with distinction.

Round this scheme has grown up quite a crop of aids to the study of the Bible—handbooks, text-books, primers. For the use of classes in the Church of Scotland (Established), there are the "Guild Text-books," edited by Professor Chanteris and Dr. McClymont, of which those dealing more strictly with Bible subjects are: *Our Lord's Teaching*, *The Old Testament and Its Contents*, *The New Testament and Its Writers*. These are small books of 140 or 150 pages, selling for sixpence; but they are excellent, written by most competent men, and have commanded a wide sale. Under the auspices of the Free Church, two series of books have appeared. The first are the "Handbooks for Bible Classes," edited by Professor Marcus Dods and Dr. Whyte, and intended for advanced students. Among them are English commentaries on many of the books of Scripture. Perhaps the best-known are Professor Davidson's *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and Dr. Stalker's *Life of Christ* and *Life of Paul*. Although some of them are of outstanding merit, none of them has ever been the work prescribed for the examination. For this much smaller and cheaper volumes have been prepared under the editorship of Professor S. D. F. Salmond, of Aberdeen, called "Bible Class Primers." The plan of this series is to retell the Scripture story, adding to the narrative the elucidation that has come through modern scholarship. Among them, from the Old Testament, there are the lives of Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon; the period of the Judges, the kings of Israel, kings of Judah, and the exile and restoration; from the New Testament, the life of Christ, the parables, the miracles, the lives of Paul, John, and Peter. On the whole, these small and cheap books

have been exceedingly well done. An objection, however, has been taken to them that they have tended to turn away the pupils' intellect from the text of Scripture. The thoroughness of the examination and their deep interest in it have led them to give their time and strength to mastering the primer. Often, under the influence of the teacher himself, sometimes in spite of him, they have set the Bible aside for the primer's version of it. This is, of course, unfortunate; for the best primer or text-book that can be written is not literature, and can never form an approximation to the penetrating religious power of Scripture. What is wanted is something that will exhibit Scripture in its beauty and strength; that will draw renewed attention to its words, its thought, its devotion. What the young need in their biblical study is that their memories become stored with the phrases and their thinking saturated by the biblical conception of the work of man and of God. A true teacher, who is himself full of it, could do this without any primer; and the primer that will help the unskilled teacher will be as a sympathetic friend and guide to all this.

The Sabbath Morning Fellowship Association.— Next to the Bible class, this is perhaps the most widely spread organization for Bible study. Its membership in most congregations consists only of young men, but young women are admitted now into many. The syllabus of study is generally prepared by the members themselves, and is often quite admirably done. The method of conducting the meeting is pretty much the same everywhere—devotional exercises; the reading of a paper by one of the members on the lesson of the day; remarks (not controversial) by a few of the older members present. Now, there can be no doubt of the wide and deep influence of this organization. Here young men learn to express their minds on religious subjects; to take part in religious conversation and in public devotion; to view their lives and the world from the standpoint of Christ. To those who take an active share in the work the benefit must be very great, and the training for further Christian work must be exceedingly valuable. Yet it must be confessed that to the majority it is somewhat dull, and it is dull merely because they are

left inactive. They are only listeners, and therefore their minds are not fully engaged.

There is no finer opportunity for the higher Bible study than is offered here. Is there any way of taking full advantage of it? It is clear that the interest of all can be awakened only by getting all to take a share in the work. At present the model which the association copies is that of the pulpit; the model which they should copy is that of a reading circle. Each would then do something, and doing is the secret of interest—even if the doing were nothing more than turning to the illustrative passages. Let the members contribute some little portion to the meeting, as the members of a Christian Endeavor society would, and there will be the success of the Christian Endeavor movement.

The educated laymen of the church who are interested in the Bible study of the people could render no nobler service than take this up. A chairman would be required, and without assuming any other function than that of a chairman, avoiding the plague of lecturing above all things, knowing when to put a question and the right kind of question to put—such a man would be the quickening of many a Sabbath Morning Fellowship association. If he were on the watch for the backward who have still something to say; if he had the tact to keep the conversation true to the theme (and he would speedily acquire it); if he had knowledge to correct gently any mistakes, there would be no resenting his lead.

At a certain stage in a young man's development, the best processes for a religious end are indirect. Teach him to think on and to admire whatsoever things are true, noble, lovely, praiseworthy. Such a leader could point to the beauties of Scripture poetry and story, to the strength and courage of the prophet's teaching, to the greatness of the hero or of the poet; he could deal with the ancient civilizations and religions, with the discoveries being made every year concerning them—every year would give him some new and startling story to tell. The inevitable result would be that the Bible would become a living book, more living than any other, and more worth the

reading, and with the reading there would come the voice of the Spirit of God awakening the spirit of many to life.

There is another reason why the S. M. F. A. should (in the opinion of the present writer) be secured for advanced Bible study, viz., that between this organization and the Sunday school the great majority of those interested in the study are already engaged — their leisure time is occupied in the preparation of work for these classes. Round these turns very much of the nation's Bible reading; parents, teachers, ministers, young men and women, are busy with them. Advanced study outside these can hardly be successful on any large scale. But the Bible Class, and, perhaps, even more a reformed Sabbath Morning Fellowship meeting, are the very field prepared and waiting. The Fellowship meeting has hardly been touched by the handbooks, text-books, and primers in existence. Nor are they the kind of book best suited for their needs. It is not the ordinary commentary, on the one hand, nor, on the other, any recasting of Scripture narrative, that will serve the purpose. For one man that has been won to the study of Shakespeare by the Cambridge Notes, or by Lamb's Tales, one hundred have been won by such appreciations as those of Coleridge or the Cowden Clarks. For the Bible, a guide to appreciation need not be an essay; but it must be as free and as varied as the talk of a teacher who loves both literature and God.

In considering popular Bible study in Scotland, it is impossible to omit one form it takes which tells upon the whole Christian population, viz., *expository preaching*. Preaching of this kind is very common — perhaps not so common as it once was, but still common enough to be a note of the Scottish pulpit. There cannot be many ministers in the land who have not tried it; there are many who have continued it throughout their ministry. The most famous Scottish preachers have been expositors, and some of the most widely read of their books have been courses of lectures. Not only so; the least pretentious of our country ministers are often among our finest scholars, and are giving the fruit of their patient study and wide reading to their people. And it is the people's desire that it should be so. They like

"lecturing," for they like knowledge much more than "anecdotes" or "appeals." They desire to know God's Word that they may know God.

The most potent influence upon Bible study, for the pulpit as well as for the class and the home, during the present generation was the great controversy on the teaching of Professor W. Robertson Smith. It sent thousands to their Bibles with new interest and with new eyes. Those on the side of the new positions and those against them read alike with a desire to understand. Men and women in Highland glen and in city tenement went to the Bible, to learn, if they could, on which side the trouble lay. As a result, for some years there lasted an impulse among the more thoughtful to *study* the Bible, such as can only be equaled surely in great religious movements. And today, after so many years, there is an abiding interest among the people, not, perhaps, in the details of criticism (they are not equipped for that), but in the results. At the time of the controversy there was a fear that the issue would be negation and the decay of vital religion. There can be but few who entertain the fear now. There is certainly a new freedom in the handling of these problems in the pulpit. And when it is done by believing men, who are reverent not only towards the Word of God, but also towards the faith of their fellow-Christians, the common people — even the simplest-minded among them — will gladly hear of the investigations of scholars, if by any means they can come to a fuller knowledge of the mind of God.

THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF DEUTERONOMY.

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There was no darker period in the history of Israel than the time of Manasseh. His father and predecessor, Hezekiah, had been in the main a good king, and had striven sincerely for reform in the religion of the people. Manasseh's reign was a period of reaction; not that he was content with restoring the conditions which had prevailed before Hezekiah's reforms; he appears rather to have attempted to eradicate the worship of Jehovah from the Jewish state. To that end new altars to strange gods were erected, and the leaders of the Jehovah worship were submitted to a bloody persecution without parallel in Hebrew history, even Ahab on the one side and Jehu on the other being no match for Manasseh in unrelenting cruelty.

There is apparently nothing to relieve the horror of this long period of half a century.[1] Jehovah worship was at an end, or could only be practiced in secret. The voice of prophecy was hushed. So far as we know, but one seer lifted up his voice in protest and warning, and his declaration of impending disaster was issued anonymously. His message, however, was sharp and clear: "Because Manasseh the king of Judah has committed these abominations, doing more wickedness even than the Amorites who were before him, and has also caused Judah to sin by his idols; therefore thus saith Jehovah the God of Israel, 'Behold I am about to bring evil upon Jerusalem and Judah, at which the ears of him who hears of it shall tingle'" (2 Kings 21:11, 12).

[1] The Chronicler tells us that Manasseh was carried a prisoner to Babylon, and there repented, and was restored to his throne by Jehovah (2 Chr. 33:11–13). This story is generally credited, but, as Stade and others have pointed out, there are some difficulties in accepting it. It is inconceivable that a matter of so great consequence should be omitted in Kings. There is no hint that Manasseh reformed in any particular. This heathen worship prevailed throughout his reign and that of Amon.

The young king, Josiah, came to the throne probably in 638 B. C. Of the first years of his reign we know nothing. The Chronicler refers some of his reforms to this early period, but there is every reason to believe that the order of events found in the book of Kings is the correct one. The king was too young to do much himself, and the evil influences of Manasseh's time still prevailed. The invasion of the Scythians, threatening the very existence of the state, and, on the other hand, the signs of quick decline in the Assyrian empire, must have made a profound impression upon the young king and pointed out to him a great future for his nation. In the eighteenth year of his reign (621 B. C.) he set about such repairs of the temple as were necessary to fit it for its sacred purposes as the house of Jehovah.

The work was going on under the direction of the chief priest, Hilkiah. The king sent Shaphan and others with directions for Hilkiah. The priest made reply to the orders of the king, and added, "I have found the book of the law in the house of Jehovah." Shaphan read the book, and then carried it to the king and read it to him. The king was deeply impressed by it, and, taking it as his guide, set in motion a much more thoroughgoing scheme of reform than he had before dreamed of.

This "book of the law" which Hilkiah said he found in the temple certainly contained a portion of the book of Deuteronomy. But there are other questions concerning this mysterious book about which there has been decided difference of opinion. Whether it was the whole or only a part of Deuteronomy is not a matter of moment; but was the "book of the law" Deuteronomy *plus* something else? that is, was it Deuteronomy in whole or in part, as most modern critics hold, or was it the whole Pentateuch, as the older scholars and the ultra-conservatives generally hold?[2] Again, if Hilkiah actually found it, how long had it been lost? Was it an ancient book which had been known before Manasseh's time, or had it been produced, say in the latter part of Hezekiah's time, and laid away in the temple without ever having been published? Did Hilkiah

[2] Some of the Fathers, however, held that it was Deuteronomy which Hilkiah found.

really find it, or was this what Cheyne calls "a needful illusion," the book having been just written to guide Josiah's reforms?

The important bearing of these questions on the pentateuchal problem is obvious. In fact, this seems to me the proper place to begin the study of that perplexing problem, because we are here on pretty firm historical ground, and have considerable data as our guide. If we can determine the questions raised by this "book of the law," it will be a long start towards settling the greater questions of the Pentateuch. If Hilkiah's book of the law was only Deuteronomy, that fact would be a staggering blow to the traditional view of the Pentateuch; for the separate existence of one book at this period, and the complete ignorance or ignoring of the rest, the institution of great reforms on the lines of one book and in violation of the precepts of others, would render difficult, if not impossible, the belief that the whole had been the product of a single hand seven centuries before.

When we examine the evidence this much is clear: the great reforms of Josiah were founded upon the book of Deuteronomy, and there is no clear reference to any other part of the Pentateuch; in fact, it is held that Josiah's reforms stopped short of the Levitical law. But dogmatic assertions will not help us to get at the truth. We desire to look into the evidence ourselves. Of the great mass of evidence at our disposal only samples can be given. We shall consider the reasons urged in support of the view that the "book of the law" was the book of Deuteronomy.

When Hilkiah handed Shaphan the book of the law, the latter read it through on the spot. The Pentateuch covers three hundred and fifty pages in the Hebrew Bible. If Shaphan read at the rate of thirty pages an hour, it would have taken him nearly twelve hours to complete his task. Now he had been sent by the king to the temple on an errand; he carries back Hilkiah's answer to the king, and there is no hint of any unusual delay. The portion of Deuteronomy upon which Josiah's reformation is based (chaps. 12–26) covers twenty-three pages, and could be read at the rate suggested above in considerably less

than an hour.[3] After the scribe had delivered Hilkiah's message, he added: "Hilkiah the priest has given me a book." He immediately read the book to the king, and this apparently on the same day.

The king rent his garments in dismay, and at once sent Hilkiah, Shaphan, and others to inquire of Jehovah on behalf of himself and the people "in regard to the words of this book which has been found, for great is the wrath of Jehovah which is kindled against us because our fathers have not obeyed the words of this book by doing all that is written therein concerning us." The book was confirmed by the prophetess Huldah, whom the king's messengers consulted, but she declared that the woes should not fall in the time of the king, who had humbled himself before Jehovah. The king assembled the people, and they entered into a covenant to keep this law. The reforms were begun afresh and in such a manner as to insure against the further violation of this law. These reforms were carried out with much severity, cruelty, and bloodshed; but they all had a single purpose—to wipe off the face of the holy land every sanctuary except the temple at Jerusalem. The sins of his fathers, from which Josiah expected such disasters, were not their failure to "love mercy and to do justly," but their participation in the worship of the local sanctuaries. The code of the covenant expressly allows a multiplicity of altars (Ex. 20:24–26); the priest-code takes for granted that a second altar is impossible, while the deuteronomic code is strenuous in its insistence on but one central sanctuary.

The close connection between Joshiah's reforms and the deuteronomic law can best be seen by a careful comparison of the following passages:

2 Kings 23:3–6; 7; 8, 9; 10; 23:11; 14; 21; 24; Deut. 12:2; 23:18; 18:6–8; 18:10; 17:3; 16:21, 22; 16:5; 18:11.

The book found by Hilkiah is called in Kings both the "book of the law" and the "book of the covenant" (2 Kings

[3] If chaps. 5–26 be the original books, it still would take but little over an hour to read at the above rate. Kittel estimates that it would take twenty-three and a half hours to read the Pentateuch through aloud. He inclines to the belief that the book was read aloud twice on the same day. (*History of the Hebrews*, p. 59.)

23 : 2 f., 21). "Amongst the books we now possess the name 'book of the covenant' can only be applied, so far as we know, to the one mentioned in Ex. 24 : 7, or to Deuteronomy. The one mentioned in Exodus is put out of the question by the character of its contents. To this must be added that the other name, 'book of the law,' given to the work which Josiah knew, is the ordinary name for Deuteronomy both in the book itself and elsewhere."[4]

There is another strong reason for believing that this book of the law was the book of Deuteronomy. Jeremiah had begun to prophesy a short time before in connection with the Scythian invasion. The book of Deuteronomy is largely prophetic in its character, and Jeremiah could not fail to be influenced by it, and by the great reform movements to which it led. We find, indeed, that Jeremiah was expressly commanded to "hear the words of this covenant, and speak them unto the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem; to *preach* them in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem;" to declare a curse upon the man who did not hearken to the words of this covenant (Jer. 11 : 1–8). A careful comparison of the passage in Jeremiah with the account in Kings and with Deuteronomy leaves no room for doubt that the prophet actually preached the book of Deuteronomy, not only to the people of the capital, but also in other parts of Judah. Moreover, no one can study Jeremiah's prophecies without seeing how much this new book of the law influenced his thought and even his words. A considerable list of the passages in which the prophet shows most the influence of Deuteronomy will be found in Driver's recent *Commentary on Deuteronomy*, p. xciii.

If the conclusion that the reformation of Josiah was based upon Deuteronomy is correct, the book could not have been written later than 621 B. C. Whether it was written long before or not, it is clear that no evidence of its existence can be found. Dean Stanley says truly that "during the reign of Manasseh there is no proof of its destruction. During the previous reigns, with two or three doubtful exceptions, there is no proof of its exist-

[4] Kittel, *History of the Hebrews*, pp. 59 f.

ence. David, Solomon, Asa, and Jehoshaphat had lived in constant, and apparently unconscious, violation of the ordinances which came home with such force to Josiah."[5]

We note that King Josiah was greatly surprised at the contents of the book. No one of those concerned give any hint that any memory of its contents had been preserved among them. The laws which the king immediately undertakes to put into effect appeared to him and to the people to be something new.

The argument from silence furnishes, however, the clearest evidence that the book of the law was really new. The history and the prophets afford us a pretty complete picture of the times before Josiah, but nowhere do we find a satisfactory reference to the peculiar ordinances of Deuteronomy. In fact, we find these laws constantly violated, and that by the most pious men. The worship on the "high places" was never questioned until Hezekiah's time, and was practiced by such godly men as Samuel and the others mentioned by Stanley. The prohibition of the sacred pillar[6] is explicit: "Thou shalt not set up for thee a pillar which Jehovah thy God hateth" (Deut. 16 : 22). It is not likely that Isaiah would have sanctioned a violation of so express a law; yet, speaking of the time when Egypt would be saved through Jehovah's intervention, he says: "In that day there shall be an altar for Jehovah in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar by its border for Jehovah. And it (*i. e.*, the pillar) shall be for a sign and witness to Jehovah of Hosts in the land of Egypt when they shall cry unto Jehovah because of their oppressors, that he shall send them a savior" (Isa. 19 : 19, 20).

Much other evidence is available, but we must content ourselves by summarizing a few points from Driver. "The law of the kingdom (Deut. 17 : 14–20) is colored by reminiscences of the monarchy of Solomon." A supreme court is taken for granted as already existent (Deut. 17 : 8–13); according to the Chronicler this was instituted by Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. 19 : 8–11). While Deuteronomy exercised a marked influence upon Jeremiah and almost every subsequent writer, the early prophets

[5] *History of the Jewish Church*, II, 428. [6] Properly a consecrated stone.

show no trace of its influence. The language and style of Deuteronomy are such as belong to the seventh century before Christ. If this book could have been written six or seven centuries earlier, there would be no such thing as a history of the Hebrew language.

If the evidence convinces us that the book of Deuteronomy had never seen the light before 621 B. C., the question arises, Was it composed at that time and issued in the way which would give it most credence, and so lead to a reformation along the lines desired by its authors? If this conclusion is reached, it would appear that Hilkiah was chiefly concerned in its preparation. One shrinks from attributing what is persistently called a "pious fraud" to the priest and his fellows; although the moral aspect of this problem has been much exaggerated, as in ancient times it was not considered immoral to sail under the colors of an ancient worthy. The undoubted Mosaic element in the book would be a partial justification for calling it all by the name of the great lawgiver. There is, however, no necessity for assigning the book to this period. It seems wholly probable that Hilkiah spoke the literal truth when he said, "I have *found* the book of the law." Many hold that it was written during Manasseh's reign, but that it could not be issued in the face of such hostility to all that it insists upon so vigorously. It was accordingly laid aside for a more favorable time; Manasseh's reign was so long that the book was forgotten and might have been lost but for Hilkiah's timely discovery. This may seem simply to remove a stigma from Hilkiah in order to put it upon some unknown individual who composed the book. A sufficient justification is furnished by Kittel: "The author felt that he was propounding to his people Mosaic ideas and Mosaic ordinances, provided merely with a new dress and application. Still further, as a man of indubitably prophetic mind, he was conscious that, in giving new point to the ancient Mosaic ordinances, and in adapting to the needs of a more advanced, and in many respects, corrupt age, much that had originated with Moses, or in the course of time had been added in his spirit, and, therefore, under his name, he was filled with the special commission and the reveal-

ing light of God. Have we of today, who, with our modern ideas, can only with difficulty and to a slight extent transport ourselves into the spiritual life of those ancient days, the right to censure a man who so unmistakably bears the mark of the true God-inspired prophet? Have we a right to reproach him with fraud, pious or impious?"[7]

As to the character of Deuteronomy, but little need be said. The thing that strikes every attentive reader is its hortatory tone. The gifted author was not content with a simple declaration of what God had commanded or prohibited; he also uses his persuasive power to induce his hearers to do the one and to leave undone the other; he urges the blessings which follow upon a course of obedience, and the disasters which will follow disobedience. One cannot help thinking that it was partly this parenetic character of the book which made its simple reading so impressive to Josiah, and so quickly won it a hearing from the people. Indeed, the writer's whole purpose is not so much the revelation of new truths as the securing adherence to old ones. He uses the previous history freely, but always as a prophet, not as a historian. His references to the history have always a didactic purpose; he desired Israel to profit by the lessons of the past.

The high ethical character of the book is very marked. Driver says: "Duties involving directly the application of a moral principle are earnestly insisted on, particularly justice, integrity, equity, philanthropy, and generosity, and the laws embodying such principles are manifestly of paramount importance in the writer's eyes."[8] "Love is to be the determining principle of their conduct, whether towards God or man."[9]

The absolute unity of God is everywhere insisted upon. But it is God in his gracious relations to the people of Israel that attracts the writer. God has brought Israel out of Egypt and prepared for him a long series of blessings. But God is a spiritual being, found only by the spirit, not by the senses; hence the determined war upon every form of idolatry. Driver does

[7] *History of the Hebrews*, I, p. 65.

[8] *Deuteronomy*, p. 23.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

not exaggerate when he says: "The author wrote, it is evident, under a keen sense of the perils of idolatry; and to guard Israel against this by insisting earnestly on the debt of gratitude and obedience which it owes to its sovereign Lord, is the fundamental teaching of the book."[10]

Considering the high moral and religious character of this book, it is not surprising that the best members of the Jewish nation were greatly and helpfully influenced by it; nor is it singular that our blessed Lord's words should so plainly show that he had penetrated its very spirit.

[10] *Deuteronomy*, p. 19.

THE YOUNG ST. JOHN.—MURILLO

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HEBRAISTIC PARALLELISM IN PAUL.

I.

IN PRAISE OF THE OBEDIENCE OF CHRIST.

Phil. 2 : 5–11.

HAVE this mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus
Who being in the form of God
    counted it no seizure to be on an equality with God
Yet emptied himself, taking the form of a servant,
    being made in the likeness of men.
And being found in fashion as a man he humbled himself
    becoming obedient even unto death—Yea the death of the
        cross.
Wherefore also God highly exalted him
    and gave unto him the Name that is above names;
    that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow—of things
        in heaven and things on earth and things under the
        earth—
    and that every tongue should confess that Christ is Lord—
        to the glory of God the Father.

II.

IN PRAISE OF THE SOVEREIGN GOD.

Rom. 11:33–36.

O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge
    of God!
How unsearchable are his judgments
    and his ways past finding out!
For who hath known the mind of the Lord?
    or who hath been his counselor?
    or who hath first given aught to him, which shall be here-
        after repaid?
For of him, and through him and unto him are all things.
    To him be glory forever. Amen.

SIR FREDERICK LEIGHTON'S "PARABLE OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS." (*FRONTISPIECE.*)

THIS impressive "illumination of the parable" is a mural painting forming an altar piece in the church at Lyndhurst, England, a town in the famous New Forest region. Its execution was a labor of love with the artist, Sir Frederick Leighton, who, visiting friends in the neighborhood at the completion of the edifice, volunteered the gift of the picture. The composition is panoramic, and the figures life-size.

It is the palace of the King, and the effulgence of his glory is the light thereof, streaming forth into the midnight upon the daughters of wisdom awaiting his royal greeting. Attended by a company of youthful musicians, rose-crowned and filling the air with joyous melody from the instruments they carry, Christ as the bridegroom, of noble form and glorious in a robe of heaven's own whiteness, appears under the central arch and turns in transcendent benediction to those on his right. The approval of that countenance is their supreme gladness, and every eye seeks it. Across the brightness of its welcome there falls, however, a shadow of sadness reflecting his consciousness of the sorrow and grief of the five to the left. This dark side of the picture tells its own sad story of the bitter reaping that follows neglect. A sentinel angel, with restraining gesture and outstretched wings, guards the way to Him for whose coming they are unprepared. A rent wall, an owl symbolizing Sloth, and the broken branch of a vine, are suggestively shown.

In one hand Christ holds the lilies of spotlessness; the other is extended to one kneeling at his feet who has pressed forward eagerly, holding before him the smallest of the lamps with its single flame. The largest of the lamps, bravely alight in triple flame, is held aloft by a superb figure, typical of ideal Christian service, whose position and lamp in the group suggest the thought that the first shall be last and the last first. By the side of the youngest of this company stands an angel, gently encouraging her as with rapt expression upon her earnest face, bearing the marks of illness, she timidly shows the token of her faithfulness.

A playing fountain around which some doves are fluttering, significant both of happy activity, and an orange grove against the deep blue of a star-sown sky, complete that side of the picture upon which falls the radiancy and peace of heaven. JOHN POWELL LENOX.

MATERIAL FROM ENGLISH LITERATURE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS.

I. THE HEALING OF A GIRL POSSESSED OF A DEVIL. II. BRUISED FOR OUR INIQUITIES. III. FORGIVENESS.

By PROFESSOR MYRA REYNOLDS, PH.D.,
The University of Chicago.

I. *The healing of a girl possessed of a devil.*— Beneath the simple words of this brief narrative are vivid suggestions of a home made desolate by the terrible affliction that has befallen the daughter. The fervor and the enduring quality of the mother's love, and her inability to do anything for her daughter, send her instinctively to Jesus as one who has not only love but power. What her love would accomplish at any cost if it could, surely omnipotent love will accomplish for her. We find exactly this theme in Browning's *Saul.* David tries in all ways to arouse Saul from his lethargy. Untwisting the lilies from his lyre, he attunes the strings to all the varied harmonies that could touch Saul's nature. His heart yearns over Saul, and then suddenly out of his love and his yearning springs his glad recognition that divine love exceeds human love, even as divine power exceeds the utmost of human effort. His vision of this love and this power becomes a prophecy of Christ who shall throw open to Saul the gates of everlasting life :

> See the King — I would help him, but can not, the wishes fall through.
> Could I wrestle to raise him from sorrow, grow poor to enrich,
> To fill up his life, starve my own out, I would — knowing which
> I know that my service is perfect. O speak through me now !
> Would I suffer for him that I love ? So wouldst thou, so wilt thou !
> So shall crown thee the topmost, ineffablest, uttermost crown —
> And thy love fill infinitude wholly.

II. *He was bruised for our iniquities.*— In Spenser's *Hymn of Heavenly Love* we have a thoughtful, musical, yet impassioned expression of man's indebtedness to Christ for the self-sacrificing love manifested in his coming down

> Out of the bosom of eternal bliss,
> In which he reignèd with his glorious Sire,

that he might pay the deadly hire of sin and restore to hapless man the possibility of joy. "For man's dear sake he did a man become." He passed through the toil, the pain, the poverty, and all the sharp assays of this sad life ; he was scourged, buffeted, bruised, twixt robbers crucified, that he might free his foes. In lieu of all this pain of love he asks but love again.

Whittier in *The Crucifixion* describes the change in nature at the death of Christ

When He, the chosen One of Heaven,
A sacrifice for guilt was given!
* * * * * * *
Oh, shall the heart — whose sinfulness
Gave keenness to His sore distress,
And added to His tears of blood —
Refuse its trembling gratitude!

One of the most pathetic and beautiful passages in Cowper's *Task* presents the healing that comes to man through the suffering of Christ:

I was a stricken deer that left the herd
Long since; with many an arrow deep infixed
My panting side was charged, when I withdrew
To seek a tranquil death in distant shades.
There was I found by One who had Himself
Been hurt by the archers. In His side He bore,
And in His hands and feet, the cruel scar.
With gentle force soliciting the darts,
He drew them forth, and healed and bade me live.

George Eliot says:

The true cross of the Redeemer was the sin and the sorrow of this world — *that* was what lay heavy on His heart — and that is the cross we shall share with Him, that is the cup we must drink of with Him, if we would have any part in that Divine Love which is one with His sorrow.

In Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* the terrible nature of the Mariner's sin against the law of love comes out most clearly when the angel compares his cruel act with the supreme act of love of "Him who died on cross."

In Frederick W. Robertson are these words:

The life of Christ and His death are the only true solution of the mystery of human life; to that, after all, all the discords of this world's wild music must be attuned at last. Christ has the keys to the Mystery of Life. The spirit of the cross is the condition which will put any one in possession of the same key.

The cross on Golgatha can never save thy soul;
The cross in thine own heart alone can make thee whole.

Christ rose not from the dead — Christ still is in the grave —
If thou for whom he died art still of sin the slave.
— *Angelus Silesius* (1624–1677).

III. *Forgiveness.* — In *Christian Morals* Sir Thomas Browne gives excellent advice on the subject of forgiveness:

Write thy Wrongs in ashes. Draw the Curtain of Night upon Injuries, shut them up in the Tower of Oblivion, and let them be as though they had not been. . . . . Forgive thine enemies totally, and without any reserve, that however God will revenge thee. . . . . If thou must needs have revenge of thine enemy, with a soft tongue break his bones, heap coals of fire on his head, forgive him and enjoy it. To forgive our enemies is a charming way of Revenge, ... a method taught from Heaven to keep all smooth on Earth. . . . . If thou hast not Mercy for others, yet be not Cruel unto thyself: To ruminate upon evils, to make critical notes upon injuries, and be too acute in their apprehensions, is to add unto our own tortures, to feather the Arrows of our Enemies . . . . for injuries long dreamt on take away at last all rest.

Emily Dickinson has some quaint stanzas that bear on this theme:

I had no time to hate, because
The grave would hinder me,
And life was not so ample I
Could finish enmity.

Nor had I time to love; but since
Some industry must be,
The little toil of love, I thought,
Was large enough for me.

For a grave, simple expression of the futility of hate, see Whittier's *Forgiveness:*

My heart was heavy, for my trust had been
Abused, its kindness answered with foul wrong;
So, turning gloomily from my fellow-men,
One summer Sabbath day I strolled among
The green mounds of the village burial place;
Where, pondering how all human love and hate
Find one sad level; and how, soon or late,
Wronged and wrong does, each with meekened face,
And cold hands folded over a still heart,
Pass the green threshold of a common grave,
Whither all footsteps tend, whence none depart,
Awed for myself, and pitying my race,
Our common sorrow, like a mighty wave,
Swept all my pride away, and I forgave.

In *Among the Hills* is another stanza holding a good philosophy for daily life:

For still in mutual sufferance lies
The secret of true living;
Love scarce is love that never knows
The sweetness of forgiving.

In Thomas à Kempis we find a reason for this mutual sufferance:

If thou canst not make thyself such an one as thou wouldest how canst thou expect to have another in all things to thy liking?

"To err is human, to forgive, divine," is one of Pope's excellent ethical aphorisms.

Portia's famous description of mercy in *The Merchant of Venice* is really a fine analysis of the spirit of forgiveness.

One of the great concrete literary exemplifications of forgiveness is in Tennyson's *Guinevere:*

And all is past, the sin is sinned, and I,
Lo! I forgive thee, as Eternal God
Forgives: do thou for thine own soul the rest.

An interesting variation of the theme is found in Sidney Lanier's *The Crystal.* He goes over in his mind all "the governor-spirits, the bards, the bringers-down of flaming news from steep-walled heavens," but finds that no one, however great, shines with undimmed luster:

Yea, you masters all must ask
Some sweet forgiveness, which we leap to give.
* * * * * * *
But Thee, but Thee, O sovereign Seer of time,
But Thee, O poets' Poet, Wisdom's Tongue,
But Thee, O man's best Man, O love's best Love,
O perfect life in perfect labor writ,
O all men's Comrade, Servant, King, or Priest,—
What *if* or *yet*, what mole, what flaw, what lapse,
What least defect or shadow of defect,—
Oh, what amiss may I forgive in Thee,
Jesus, good Paragon, thou Crystal Christ.

The Council of Seventy.

The activities of members of the Council during the past two months have been many and varied. Dr. John Henry Barrows has just returned from a six-weeks' trip, during which he has lectured almost constantly about his trip to India in the interests of Christianity, in the light which has been thrown upon the question of Christian missions. He gave on Sunday, March 13, at the University of Chicago, the last lecture of the series on "The Influence of Christianity on the World's History," his special subject being "The Christianity of the Future." In this course the following Councilors have taken part: President William R. Harper, three lectures on "The Influence of the Old Testament upon Christianity;" Professor Ernest D. Burton, "The Birth of Christianity;" Professor Shailer Mathews, "Greek Thought in its Relation to Christianity," and "The First Century of Christianity;" President C. J. Little, "The Christianity of the Centuries."

Dr. H. L. Willett has conducted, since January 1, the following series of institutes: at Fort Dodge, Ia., January 10–12, six lectures on "The Beginnings of Christianity" (average attendance, 200); at Des Moines, Ia., January 13–15, six lectures on "The Life of Christ" (average attendance, 1000); at Perry, Ia., January 17–19, six lectures on "Wisdom Literature" (average attendance, 250); at Dallas Centre, Ia., January 20–22, "The Beginnings of Christianity" (average attendance, 150); at Drake University, Des Moines, Ia., January 24–26, "The Beginnings of Christianity" (average attendance, 1200); at Quincy, Ill., January 31–February 2, same subject (with attendance of 500); in New York city, March 3–5, "The Life of Christ" (average attendance, 200). The series was closed by a course at the Bible Normal College, Springfield, Mass.

The following Councilors have offered their services for summer-school work: Professor W. R. Betteridge, Rochester Theological Seminary; Professor Sylvester Burnham, Colgate University; Professor Edward L. Curtis, Yale University; Professor F. B. Denio, Bangor Theological Seminary; Professor Lincoln Hulley, Bucknell University; President William R. Harper, University of Chicago; Professor

D. A. McClenahan, United Presbyterian Theological Seminary; Professor George L. Robinson, Knox Theological Seminary; Professor Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University; Dr. H. L. Willett, University of Chicago — all of the Old Testament Chamber. Professor Alfred W. Anthony, Cobb Divinity School; Professor Ernest D. Burton, University of Chicago; Professor Daniel A. Hayes, Garrett Biblical Institute; Professor Shailer Mathews, University of Chicago; Professor Rush Rhees, Newton Theological Seminary; Dr. Clyde W. Votaw, University of Chicago — of the New Testament Chamber. Professor George B. Foster, University of Chicago; Dr. James H. Breasted, University of Chicago; President G. S. Burroughs, Wabash College — of the General Chamber. A number of these men are already assigned to work in the University of Chicago, Chautauqua, and at various summer assemblies. The appointments in detail will be given next month.

The following gentlemen have been appointed to serve on the committee for the investigation of Sunday-school study material: Professor Ernest D. Burton, chairman; Dr. H. L. Willett, Professor D. A. Hayes, Professor F. K. Sanders, President Geo. S. Burroughs. In the committee the Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Christian denominations are represented.

The summer-school season will be inaugurated by the annual session of the Maine Ministers' Institute, which will hold its meetings May 19–27 in Roger Williams Hall, Lewiston, Me. In general the programme is as follows:

1. *The Old Testament.*—Seven lectures by Dr. Jas. H. Breasted, the University of Chicago (six illustrated with the stereopticon, presenting 500 views), on "Egypt — its History and Civilization": (1) "Topography, Scenes, and People of Egypt;" (2) "The Old Empire — the Pyramids and their Builders;" (3) "The Middle Empire — the Feudal State;" (4) "The New Empire — the Military State;" (5) "Egyptian Art;" (6) "Egyptian Literature;" (7) "Israel in Egypt." Two lectures by Dr. Bowen: "The Golden Age of Western Asia;" "The Characteristics of Hebrew History." In response to a request made at the last session of the Institute, Professor Purinton, of Cobb Divinity School, will conduct a daily class in Hebrew, reading the book of Jonah and other portions of the minor prophets.

2. *The New Testament.*—Seven lectures by Professor A. W. Anthony, of Cobb Divinity School, upon "The Unrecorded Life of Christ": (1) "The Brothers and Playmates of the Child Jesus;" (2) "The Education of Jesus;" (3) "The Home and Early Circumstances of Jesus;" (4) "Apocryphal Lives of Jesus;" (5) "Jesus' Acquaintance and Contact with John the Baptist;" (6) "Development of the Messianic Consciousness;" (7) "Temptations of Jesus." Three lectures by Professor Howe, of the same institution, on the epistle to the Ephesians: "The Book;" "The Theology of the Epistle;" "The Ethics of the Epistle."

3. *The philosophy of religion.*—One lecture by President Chase of Bates College, "The Meaning of Christian Education." One lecture by President Butler of Colby University, "The Psychology of Conversion." Two lectures by Professor Hayes, of Cobb Divinity School: "The Psychology of Christian Growth;" "The Ethics of Christian Growth." Two lectures by Dr. Summerbell, Lewiston, Me.: "New Testament Miracles;" "Faith and Fanaticism." Two lectures by Dr. Stackpole, Auburn, Me.: "Revivals, Genuine and Spurious;" "Pseudo-Spirituality."

4. *Christian sociology.*—Five lectures with special reference to the pastor's needs, by Professor Geer, of Bates College.

The Bible club work of the Institute still continues to grow. The membership to date this year is four thousand, one thousand more than at the corresponding date of last year. The Woman's Club of Lansing, Mich., having a membership of eighty, has placed the course on the Old Testament sages in its required programme for next year. The town of Wooster, O., boasts four clubs, all working on different subjects.

Notes and Opinions.

The Present Appearance of Jacob's Well.— Some time since the accompanying full-page cut of Jacob's Well appeared in the BIBLICAL WORLD and was criticised by a religious journal as being incorrect.

ENTRANCE TO JACOB'S WELL
Before the beginning of the new church

Although the picture was purchased in Syria, and although its accuracy was well vouched for, it seemed advisable at that time not to enter into a discussion of the matter. Since then, however, a visit to the site has explained our critic's failure to recognize the cut, and has justified our own opinion. The picture is that of Jacob's Well, but taken from such a point as to show only an opening near the stairway down which travelers are now accustomed to descend in order to

JACOB'S WELL BEFORE THE PRESENT EXCAVATION AND OTHER CHANGES

enter the little building over the well itself. Apparently it was taken before that stairway was opened. The low-vaulted building by which the well is covered is probably a part of a church built over the well by the crusaders, and it would seem as if the entrance to the true mouth of the well was formerly through a hole in its top. The well is in the midst of a field, now completely walled in, and has come into the possession of the Greek Christians, who are endeavoring to raise money to build a new church over the vault and well. Some preliminary excavations have already been made, and a few beginnings of the new structure. The water in the well, in spring, is abundant and delightfully soft and fresh, and unlike that of Jordan, when bottled, keeps sweet indefinitely.

PRESENT APPEARANCE OF THE APPROACH TO JACOB'S WELL

Mizpah.—The *Sunday School Times* in a recent editorial called attention to the anomaly of using the word *Mizpah* as a symbol of a bond of union, and, after having shown how the word was the outcome of the enmity between Laban and Jacob, goes on to say:

In the earliest records we have of oriental civilization, the stone pillar, or obelisk, as a boundary landmark stands prominent for the division of the territory of tribes and peoples and kingdoms. This custom prevailed long before the day of Laban and Jacob. An accompanying stone-heap as an altar, for sacrifice or for a sacramental meal, was commonly near the pillar. Each conventional boundary-stone pillar was under the guardianship and protection of a local divinity, or of the god worshiped by its setter-up. The curse of that divinity was invoked against whoever would remove or destroy the boundary mark. The invoked divinity would be always on watch and guard for the defense of the boundary, even though the land-owner was at the time far away, and ignorant of an effort to violate the covenanted dividing line.

In this instance, Laban and Jacob invoked the Lord God of their fathers to watch the agreed boundary, and to protect it from violation from either of the covenanting parties. In view of the clearly established purpose of such a border watch-tower, it is somewhat singular that *Mizpah* has come to be regarded as a sacred bond of union, instead of as an assurance of permanent division.

A somewhat similar misappropriation of words despite their context—a fault all too common in current religious literature—is to be seen in the use of the words of Jesus, "The poor ye have always with you," as a part of his teaching to give money in charity. As a matter of fact, they were a part of a rebuke Jesus uttered to one who suggested that money be so used!

Resch on τὰ λόγια Ἰησοῦ.—Dr. Alfred Resch, in an interesting, half-autobiographical account of his *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte* contributed by him to the volume of *Theologische Studien* published in honor of the seventieth birthday of Bernhard Weiss, devotes several pages to a summary of his view as to the language in which Jesus probably spoke, and in which the original gospel was written. Although it had seemed as if discussion had about completed its circle in this matter, the monumental work of Resch has at least opened it once more. For his efforts at reconstructing an original Hebrew gospel, as well as his study, *Die Ursprache des vorcanonischen Evangeliums*, although they have not yet been received with general favor, are not to be disregarded. In the present essay he sharply criticises Wellhausen for saying that all we know of the matter is that Jesus spoke in Aramaic and that his sayings were written in that language. "All we know," says Resch, "is that Jesus *also* spoke Aramaic, especially in Galilee. That he spoke exclusively and only Aramaic we do not know." He finds arguments for the use of Hebrew by Jesus in that he is called rabbi by all classes, and that he used the Hebrew Scriptures at a time when there was no Aramaic Targum. In the light of this probability that Jesus used both Hebrew and Aramaic, Resch goes on to argue that the writer of the original gospel used Hebrew from the facts that, in the time of Jesus, southern Palestine was bilingual, the Galilean Aramaic had not become a literary language, and, especially, that Hebrew was the language used for both literary and religious purposes. Resch is led, therefore, to interpret the title τὰ λόγια Ἰησοῦ of the work said by Papias to have been written by Matthew as a Greek translation of the Hebrew דִּבְרֵי יֵשׁוּעַ. Thus it is the same as the Hebrew expressions so common in the Old Testament (*e. g.*, 1 Kings 11:41) used as titles of historical sources (*geschichtliche Quellenschriften*) of a biographical nature. The original writing of Matthew, according to this interpretation, was, therefore, not a mere collection of sayings, but contained also biographical narrative material. The paper, as a whole, is a good summary of the views of Resch expressed elsewhere in great detail.

Sunday-School Reform.— In the last number of the *Ladies' Home Journal* a page is devoted to a severe editorial upon the "Decay of the Sunday School." While we are hardly prepared to say with it that "the average Sunday school of today is a rebuke to intelligence and a discredit to the church," it is certainly capable of improvement. The reforms which the present critic recommends are the choice of better superintendents and the abolition of male teachers in favor of women who have leisure during the week. We venture to think the editorial displays both in its diagnosis and its remedy an ignorance of actual conditions. To elect first-class superintendents is, of course, desirable. It may be desirable — but we most emphatically question it — to remove all male teachers and to substitute women, but a Sunday school is no more a means of amusing children and stirring religious feelings than it is social organization. It is a place where children, young people, and mature men and women are to be instructed in the teachings of the Bible. To overlook this end of the Sunday school is to overlook its chief need. What the Sunday school really wants is not so much better superintendents, and refined women teachers, as teachers who know what and how to teach. Unless we can enlist the intelligence of the rising generations, we had better cease to hope to control their morals. In the meantime such agitation as it is to be hoped is inaugurated by the editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, although it does not strike the root of the matter, is to be welcomed as one means of turning attention to the present condition of Sunday-school work.

Inverted History.— Zenker in his *Anarchism* (p. 14) makes the following remark: "It must not be forgotten that Christianity was at first a proletarian movement, and that a great part of its adherents certainly did not join it merely with the hope of a return to the original state of Paradise *in a future world.* Perhaps (thought they) this Paradise might be attainable in this world." This is a fair specimen of the nonsense that is being written about early Christianity. It is characteristic of some minds to write history — especially Christian history — without troubling themselves about facts. But such historical phantasmagorias pale before those of writers upon social subjects who stray into the region of the New Testament. If a man wanted to say exactly what primitive Christianity did *not* believe, he could hardly do better than appropriate the deliverance of this theological amateur.

Synopses of Important Articles.

DID JOHN PREACH BAPTISM FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS? By AGNES SMITH LEWIS, in *The Expositor*, March, 1898.

IS THE phrase "unto remission of sins" (Mark 11 : 30; Luke 20 : 4) logically and grammatically dependent upon "baptism" or "repentance"? The Council of Nicea decided for the former construction. Was it correct? Baptism and repentance are two perfectly distinct ideas, and the grammatical dependence of the phrase cannot be upon them both. Grammar here gives no help. If an appeal be made to experience, it is at once apparent that, beautiful as is the rite of baptism, it has had no appreciable effect whatever on the life of those to whom it has been administered. It must always be accompanied by repentance and the forsaking of sins. Is this idea of forsaking implied in ἄφεσις, "remission"? It may well be suspected that such a thought was not altogether absent from John's mind, and it is a fact that in the Syriac versions the words by which it is translated are formed from a root whose common root is "to forsake." Remission of sins is impossible without repentance, and repentance never occurs without "remission." It therefore follows that the phrase in question is logically dependent upon the word "repentance" and not on "baptism."

This article of Mrs. Lewis is interesting, not alone from its theological relations, but from the light which it casts from Syriac versions upon the interpretation of the words in question. It is, however, a fair question whether the Greek word ἄφεσις in itself expresses the idea of "forsaking."

S. M.

ZUR CHRONOLOGIE DES LEBENS PAULI. By PROFESSOR EMIL SCHÜRER, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, January, 1898.

IN this article Professor Schürer crosses swords with Professor Harnack, and incidentally with O. Holtzmann and Blass, in defense of the date of the recall of Felix which Schürer advocates in his *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (E. Tr., I, ii, 182,

note). He begins with a thorough examination of the credibility of the Chronicle of Eusebius, which is Harnack's reliance in his revision of the customary chronology. We are furnished with a table giving in parallel columns from the three forms in which the Chronicle of Eusebius is preserved to us all the data which it offers concerning the history of the Jews, from the death of Herod to the outbreak of the great war. These are then critically examined in connection with the writings of Josephus, with a view to discovering whether Eusebius had access to sources of information other than Josephus in the arrangement of his Annals. This investigation results in certain conclusions: (1) the text of Jerome is preferable to the Armenian version of the Chronicle; (2) in almost every case the Chronicle is manifestly dependent on Josephus for its information, and generally it follows the shorter of his works, the *Jewish War;* (3) in a few cases both the *Antiquities* and the *Jewish War* are used, as in determining the date of the accession of Felix as the eleventh year of Claudius; (4) in some cases where Josephus furnishes no date, Eusebius has inferred one from the context, and not always correctly. The plan of his work necessitated his giving some date. In particular, Eusebius' date for the accession of Festus, the 2d of Nero, is due to such a guess, since neither of the works of Josephus furnishes a date, but simply indicates that Felix continued in the government after Nero came to the throne. The only source known to us other than Josephus from which Eusebius or his predecessor, Julius Africanus, could have drawn is Justus of Tiberius; but, however useful he may have been in earlier parts of the work of Eusebius, in the part here under consideration he could have been of no service, since his history treated only of the Jewish *kings*, so would hardly have furnished the story of the Roman procurators.

The objection that is commonly raised against the late date for the recall of Felix—that Pallas fell into disfavor in 55, and so could not have assisted his brother Felix at the later time—is met by the double consideration: (1) That the date of the deposition of Pallas, according to Tacitus (February, A. D. 55), is so soon after the beginning of Nero's reign (October, A. D. 54) that the recall of Felix by Nero and his arrival in Rome before his brother's downfall is impossible. This Harnack has seen, and has sought escape by conjecturing an error in Tacitus. But Schürer remarks: "If in these things anything at all is certain, it is the chronology of Tacitus, which is arranged annalistically, and sets the downfall of Pallas in February, 55." (2) Moreover, that Pallas was deposed does not indicate that he lost all

influence. He still retained "a very respectable amount of power," and it is altogether possible that by 60 he was again a man of influence. His death does not fall until 62.

The new chronology is further untenable in view of the fact that the conversion of Paul in the year 30 is impossible, since there is need for at least a few years between the death of Christ and that conversion to allow for the growth of the church and its persecution. Moreover, the uprising led by the Egyptian mentioned in Acts 21:38, which was a thing of the past before Paul was brought before Felix, occurred in the time of Nero, according to Josephus (*Ant.*, XX, 8, 4–6). Schürer also approves of Ramsay's argument (*Expositor*, March, 1897) that Gallio could not have been proconsul in Corinth until some time after 49.

The general lines of the criticism have now been frequently traced — beginning with the article of Ramsay to which Dr. Schürer refers. The noteworthy feature of this article is the removal of the Chronicle of Eusebius from the class of independent witnesses to the chronology of the New Testament period.

RUSH RHEES.

THE NEWTON THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION.

DAS REICH GOTTES IN DEN PSALMEN. Von PASTOR J. BOEHMER; *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, VIII. Jahrgang, pp. 620–51; 746–63; 819–37.

THE book of Psalms — a collection of the religious songs of Israel — mirrors the conceptions which were associated with the kingdom of Jahweh from the period of the kings till a time long after the exile.

It is important to investigate *how* representations of Jahweh's kingdom which had been based upon the historico-religious development of Israel grew into prophetic announcements in the light of pious subjectivity, and appeared in poetic garb — *which* of these representations found acceptance, and how they modified, and what contribution they made to, the establishment of the hope of Israel.

We will not investigate Messianic wisdom as such, nor will we represent the Messianic hope. Stade has attempted the latter, but, in view of his exegetical tortures and unscientific method, he has simply begged the question. We now examine exegetically two kinds of Psalms, which sometimes run parallel, sometimes cross each other, viz., those which deal with the kingdom of Jahweh without any mention of

an earthly king; and, second, those which tie themselves to a king who shall succeed David.

I. The kingdom of Jahweh, according to exegetical determination and connected description, is found in Pss. 93, 95, 99, 24, 29, 49, 10, 48, 149, 47, 146, 145, 22, 66, 87, 95, 93, 96, and 98, with the following general characteristics: (1) there is within it a great diversity of religious representation; (2) we can trace the steps from the oldest times, when Jahweh was a god of war and leader of hosts, on through the period of his princely Israelitish national character, to a time when *all* peoples may bring their petitions to him. He was known first through nature, then through history, then through the word.

II. The Davidic kingdom with reference to the kingdom of Jahweh, exegetically investigated in Pss. 20, 21, 2, 45, 72, 89, 132, and 110, gives the following general results: (1) the Psalms were written largely from a prophetic point of view; (2) they conceive that in the present king and his descendants the promises given to David shall be realized; (3) the Davidic king exists everywhere only in connection with Jahweh.

A comparison of the conception of the kingdom of Jahweh and of the ideal Davidic king (in the Psalms) shows that these are not mutually exclusive. The picture of the future is essentially the same in each, but occasionally the Davidic kingdom passes wholly into that of Jahweh. The Jahweh kingdom stands by itself, has all in itself; the Davidic kingdom as such is nothing, it is completely dependent upon Jahweh. The Davidite is always a national Israelitic ruler, while Jahweh appears as king of the world, though revealed thus far only in Israel. When the Davidite needs power, Jahweh appears with him, for him, and in him. The kingdom of David is *lost* in Jahweh's kingdom, and the people but rarely bind the hope of Israel to a king of David's house, a personal Messiah.

III. The kingdom of God in the Psalms, as set within the Old Testament canon. As long as Israel existed, there was a king Jahweh, even as far back as Moses, if not farther, but the conception in early times was by no means prominent. Throughout the Pentateuch Jahweh is spoken of as king only three times, and these passages are in doubt. In fact, in all preëxilic writings the name King Jahweh or a hint of it is found but seldom. Still we may find Psalms in preëxilic times in which King Jahweh appears, *e.g.*, Pss. 5 and 24. With the exile comes a complete change. The fall of the kingdom of David, and especially

the contact with great kingdoms like Assyria, Chaldea, and Persia, brought the Israelites to look upon Jahweh (who until now had been Israel's king) as lord over all the world-rulers. Here takes place an extensive broadening and decisive inner enrichment of the kingdom of Jahweh. After the exile Jahweh is called king much more frequently. In exilic and post-exilic pieces of Isaiah Jahweh is called king six times; in Isaiah proper only once. Twice he is so called in additions to Jeremiah; thrice in Zech. 14, etc.

Before the exile the summing up of the hope of Israel is never designated by the royal title of Jahweh; after the exile it is found seven times. Chronicles and Daniel employ the royal name as savior for all, only to emphasize his majesty, everlastingness, and dominion. First in the Psalms, and in the Psalms only, is he celebrated as king in the sense that he brings salvation to all peoples. Hence the Psalms with this conception are certainly post-exilic.

To the Psalmist the personality of Jahweh stood so much in the foreground that he gave no description of the territory, laws, functions, etc., of the kingdom. He was not interested in contemporaneous history or the events of his time, but only in Jahweh himself, his person and his majesty. Detailed exegesis shows that the Psalmist speaks of no chasm between the present and the future in which the king shall appear with power and salvation for the world. Psalms which make the contents of Jahweh's kingdom salvation for Israel and for the Gentiles are exilic or post-exilic, Psalms which present the abstract kingdom of Jahweh were composed long after the exile. The application of these facts will determine the date of composition of a number of Psalms. Before the exile, and during the exile, the hope of salvation of Israel hung on David's line. But, beginning in the exile, this conception was being pushed to the background, and after Zechariah all hope is centered in Jahweh the king. We may place Psalms like 20, 21, 61 between 950–600 B. C.; Psalms like 2, 45, 72 between 750–600 B. C.; Psalms like 89, 132 immediately after the exile.

After all our examination we conclude that the kingdom of Jahweh and the Davidic kingdom stood in close relation, partly together, and partly inside of each other, partly exclusive of each other.

The teaching of Jesus Christ on the kingdom of God corresponds more nearly to the picture of the Psalms than that of any other writing. Christ practically leaves out of account the Davidic kingdom, never emphasizing it; but he announces complete salvation as pro-

ceeding from the kingdom of Jahweh. He puts new life into the old phrase "the kingdom of God" by emphasizing the personality of God and by substituting for king, Father.

Any investigation that may furnish criteria for the dating of the Psalms must be most warmly received by scholars. To this end the author has made a real contribution. His method is scientific throughout, though it is to be regretted that he has not made clearer his order of treatment in Pt. 3. In the argument the author assumes, perhaps, too much, occupying a rather extreme position as to the date of composition of the Old Testament writings. Especially valuable is the detailed and careful exegesis of the Psalms.

THEODORE A. GESSLER.

Work and Workers.

THE Polychrome Bible is republished in London by James Clarke & Co.

THE *New Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, issued by T. & T. Clark in England, and sold by Scribner's in this country, covers "A—Feasts."

BISHOP VINCENT, of the Methodist Episcopal church, has been elected a member of the general committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

M. J. REINACH will soon publish a work descriptive of his excavations at Sippara, which he does not identify as the Sepharvaim of the Old Testament.

MAJOR C. R. CONDER is busily engaged upon a volume dealing with the Hittite question. Messrs. Blackwood, of London, will publish it at an early day.

THE British and Foreign Bible Society will receive the sum of £80,000 under the will of the late Rev. E. Norman Pochin, vicar of Barkley, Leicestershire, England.

PROFESSOR AHLWARDT, of Berlin, has just completed his task of cataloguing and describing all the Arabic MSS. in the Berlin library, a task to which he has devoted twenty-four years.

THE Army Scripture Readers' Society for Scotland employs eight readers who daily visit barrack-rooms, hospitals, camps, and prisons, as well as families of the officers, to read to them messages of the gospel.

The American Bible Society has received during the eleven months of its fiscal year from auxiliary societies, individuals, and churches $74,245, exceeding by $27,297 the receipts of the same period last year.

REV. WILLIAM F. MOULTON, D.D., master of Leys school, Cambridge, England, has recently died. A notice of his eminent contributions to New Testament scholarship will appear in the May number of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

Rev. Henry George Tompkins' *Abraham and His Age*, a new volume in the Bible Students' Library, issued by Eyre & Spottiswoode, is, in reality, a new edition of his *Studies in the Times of Abraham*, published nineteen years ago, and long since out of print.

Professor Hermann Cremer, of Greifswald, has been called to the University of Berlin to fill the chair made vacant by the resignation of Professor Schatter, but he has promptly declined what has been regarded as the height of ambition of a German professor.

Professor Charles A. Briggs, of Union Theological Seminary, describes in *Scribner's Magazine* for March his discovery of the Cash-book of the oldest missionary society now existing, which aided in the spread of the gospel in New England among the Pilgrim fathers.

Wilbert W. White, Ph.D., college secretary of College Young Men's Christian Association, of Calcutta, has recently taken a trip to Ceylon under the auspices of the Student Volunteer Movement for Home Missions in India and Ceylon, to attend three student conferences. An exceedingly interesting account of his trip, contained in "Report Letter No. 5," describes Jaffna, Colombo (Ceylon), and Palamcottah (near Tinevelly, South India).

Theodore Hanford Pond, an artist of Boston, formerly a resident of Beirut, Syria, is organizing a students' tour of Lebanon, in the footsteps of the crusaders, which is to leave New York on June 18. The programme is certainly a novel one, not only in that he intends to spend the summer in Palestine, but also that he especially plans to go through the region of Lebanon mountains in which many remains of the crusaders' castles are to be examined. He has already made arrangements with several persons to join the expedition, and we shall look to its results with great interest.

Book Reviews.

Scientific Aspects of Christian Evidences. By G. FREDERICK WRIGHT. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1898. Pp. xii + 350, 8vo. $1.50.

When Canon Gore brought out Romanes' *Thoughts on Religion*, he rough-hewed the path for a work which might stimulate and arouse the religious interest of many whose respect for their own learning and powers of reasoning had led them into paths diverging from those followed by orthodox churchmen. It is to be regretted that Romanes himself was not able to furnish such a work as he proposed, for he was especially endowed with the religious aspirations, fidelity to truth, and philosophical training required for the accomplishment of such a task. The present work meets in some degree the want of such a work in that it furnishes the reader with an attractive presentation of the bases of Christian belief as viewed by one who has spent his life in teaching one of the sciences.

The author presents for consideration two theses, which may be stated as follows: (1) the popular conception of the extent of absolute scientific knowledge is an exaggeration, since "it is still as true as ever that 'what we know is as nothing to what we know not;'" (2) the facts of Christianity are proved beyond any reasonable doubt, and therefore may serve as a satisfactory basis for religious hope and activity.

To establish the first of these theses Professor Wright devotes two chapters to limits of scientific thought and the paradoxes extant in scientific hypotheses. Assuming the position of "pure agnosticism" as defined by Romanes, it is evident that the mind is in a state of perfect suspense, and that the final judgment is in abeyance. Such a point of vantage leads to the view that the origin of life is still a mystery; that it is not known that existing physical conditions have existed indefinitely; that physical sciences do not rule out providential interference; and that even such well-accepted "laws" as those of gravitation and the atomic constitution are not free from serious paradoxes. These two chapters are evidently intended to induce a state of positive humility respecting everything beyond the realm of

observable phenomena; and to show that "religious philosophy does not by any means possess a monopoly of all of the mysteries of existence."

The chapter on "Mediate Miracles" introduces many of the incidents which have been the object of ridicule for unsympathetic readers. Many of these incidents, such as the escape from Nazareth or the appearance of Christ after the resurrection, are regarded as instances in which the miraculous element is probably introduced into explanations without due warrant; others, such as the passage of the Red Sea or the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, arise from "miraculous adaptation of the laws of nature rather than a direct suspension of them;" while others, such as the second state of Lot's wife or the pausing of the sun for Joshua, are regarded as marginal interpolations or poetic outbursts. By far the greater portion of this chapter is devoted to the Noachian deluge as narrated in the different texts and as related to geological history. Since the author apparently adopts the view of a local subsidence, it seems somewhat out of proportion to devote so much time to a consideration of the glacial period, the formation of loess, and the views of Prestwich on the submergence of western Europe, especially as he does not attempt to show any other than the most general relation between the local event of short period and the more general events of longer duration. This chapter with the two preceding it serve as a transition to the second preparation, which occupies the remainder of the book.

That the facts of Christian belief are proven beyond reasonable doubt depends on the truthfulness of the gospels and the writing of these accounts before the close of the apostolic times. Both of these conditions are established by the evidences which are derived from the recent discoveries of texts like the Syriac Codex or the Diatessaron, and the internal evidences of time and truthfulness. It is to an explanation of the bearing of the recent work in criticism and archæology that the author devotes several of the later chapters, in which he brings together the main facts in a way that renders them available to the lay mind.

While the book might be improved by condensing certain portions (*e. g.*, chap. vi), Professor Wright is to be congratulated on presenting so many facts in a form which renders them accessible to students at a time when their faith is shaken by their first essays in scientific thinking.

EDWARD B. MATHEWS.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

The Interlinear Literal Translation of the Hebrew Old Testament with the King James Version and the Revised Version printed in the margins for ready reference. With Tables of Hebrew Verbs and Hebrew Alphabet. By GEORGE RICKER BERRY, PH.D., Colgate University. Part I, *Genesis and Exodus*. New York: Hinds & Noble, Cooper Union Institute, 1897.

This book, as its title implies, has the Hebrew text, with its translation in English, immediately under it, line for line. According to the Hebrew order, it reads from right to left, and observes with all possible exactness the Hebrew construction and arrangement of the words in the sentence.

It is by no means a free or smooth translation, but faithfully aims to be literal—the Hebrew in English—giving as far as possible the etymological graphic meaning of the Hebrew figure. The same word is uniformily translated whenever possible, thus avoiding confusion. Fortunately the work is not encumbered, and the page is not loaded down and obscured with footnotes and marginal readings and a bewildering maze of references of a purely philosophical and philological and technical character, of use only to the expert and the specialist. The Hebrew text is sharp and clear, and the typography of the work is excellent; the Hebrew text, with the literal translation immediately under, occupies the middle and the greater portion of the page; while the Authorized Version is in a narrow column to the left, and the Revision in a narrow column to the right. The wide spacing of the Hebrew text is a very great advantage, making the words very conspicuous.

This book will do a considerable service for two classes of Bible students—the one who is rusty or deficient in his Hebrew, and the one who has never studied Hebrew at all. It will be a great help to the former, because he will have there before him a beautiful, clear Hebrew text, and in the Hebrew order a *literal translation*. Reading these he will be enabled easily to review former studies. The memory is revived and refreshed, until, before he is aware of it, he has been beguiled into the study, and perhaps mastery, of the Old Testament in the original Hebrew.

It will also greatly aid one who has never studied the language, because it will give him the Hebrew order, construction, and also the literal meaning, and all in the English, so that, while he may not know the Hebrew, he will, nevertheless, get, so to speak, the *Hebrew flavor*.

KITTREDGE WHEELER.

La Bible Francaise de Calvin. Livres des Saintes Écritures traduits ou revisés par le Réformateur tirés de ses œuvres et accompagnés de variantes d'autres versions du 16e siècle. Par ÉDOUARD REUSS. Tome Premier. *Livres de L'Ancien Testament.* Brunswick: C. A. Schwetschke et Fils, 1897. Pp. xvi + 911, 8vo.

This is a posthumous publication of that venerable veteran of biblical research, whose life and work were such an honor and decoration to the University of Strassburg through long decades of this century. The title of this work is misleading. Calvin never left to subsequent generations a French Bible. But the author cites several passages in his writings to prove the point that Calvin did some specific work of revision on the texts of his day. The citations are full of interest, but the certain proof is not forthcoming. The most that these passages prove is that Calvin probably had a hand in certain revisions made in his day. That he issued no edition strictly his own seems certain from lack of evidence in his own and in the writings of his contemporaries. This *Tome Premier*, too, contains not the whole Old Testament, but the Hexateuch, the Psalms, Job, Isaiah, and Hosea. The text of the Hexateuch is compiled from (1) the Bible of Olivetan (edition of 1635), (2) that printed by Girard (in 1646), (3) that of Crespin (of 1554), (4) that of Barbier and Courteau (of 1559), and (5) the commentary of Calvin on Genesis. This text then gives us the net resultant of a comparison of all the editions mentioned above, between 1535 and 1564. The French text of the Psalms is compiled from Calvin's commentary printed in 1558, with the variants of the Olivetan edition, of the Geneva editions of 1546, 1554, 1559, and of the edition of his commentary of 1563. The text of Job is extracted from a volume of Calvin's sermons printed in 1563 with variants of the Olivetan and Genevan Bibles prior to this epoch. The text of Isaiah is a product from the commentary of Calvin printed in 1552, with the variants of the Olivetan edition, of the Genevan Bibles of 1546, 1554, 1559, and of the edition of the commentary of 1572. The concluding text of the volume, the prophet Hosea, is that found in Calvin's Latin commentary printed in 1557, with variants of that of Olivetan, and of the Genevan Bibles of 1546, 1554, and of 1559.

Professor Reuss has ingeniously gathered from various works of the reformer definite statements and hints on texts and textual points in certain books, and has constructed therefrom what seemed to him

the French text that Calvin would have made for himself. The resultant has its value, in spite of possible disagreements as to the interpretation of Calvin's words. Scholars, especially those of the biblical work of the Reformation period, will welcome this contribution to textual material. PRICE.

The Prophecies of Jesus Christ, relating to his Death, Resurrection, and Second Coming, and their Fulfillment. By DR. PAUL SCHWARTZKOPFF, Professor of Theology, Göttingen. Translated by Neil Buchanan. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897; New York: Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons. Pp. xi+328, 12mo. Cloth, $1.75.

This is an able discussion of the prophecies of Jesus which must command every reader's respect for its ability, seriousness, and thoroughness. Its method and its spirit deserve only praise. Its treatment of the presuppositions is, indeed, far from being satisfactory; its attempt to establish the fallibility of Jesus on the ground of his apparent belief in the existence of demons and his treatment of Psalm 110 involve a too confident assumption that the common view of modern criticism is wholly right on these two matters, and, at the same time, makes too little allowance for accommodation on the part of Jesus. Yet the writer fulfills his promise that these presuppositions shall not warp the succeeding discussion, so that the main body of the work remains unaffected by them. The main theses of the book are the following: Jesus did really predict both his death and his resurrection; he predicted, moreover, that he would rise on the third day; this phrase, however, is to be understood in the sense which it bears in Hos. 6 : 2 and Luke 13 : 32, "after a little while;" the basis of Jesus' confidence in his resurrection was his consciousness of God's love for him, and of his own relation as Messiah to the kingdom of God; Jesus did, in fact, rise from the dead and appeared to his disciples; the religious significance of the resurrection lies in the fact of the "exaltation of Jesus to an infinitely sublime and central sphere of religious power," and since a bodily resurrection is neither an indispensable condition nor the only possible evidence of such exaltation, such a resurrection is not a necessary element of Christianity; nevertheless, the evidence does, on the whole, establish the conclusion that the grave was empty on the third day, and that the disciples' belief in the resurrection was based neither on a subjective nor an objective "vision," but on a veritable appear-

ance of Jesus himself. As respects Jesus' prediction of his second coming, Schwartzkopff maintains that this must be identified with that of his resurrection. The statements of Jesus that he would rise on the third day and that he would come again in this generation are only different forms of the same thing, both meaning that after his death he would soon return to take up again and carry to completion the work of the kingdom on earth; the question of the precise time of his coming was one which the religious consciousness of his relation to God and his mission could not decide; on this point, therefore, he was liable to form an erroneous impression; his expectation has, in fact, failed of realization in three particulars: the resurrection and the second coming did not, in fact, coincide; the resurrection came earlier than he anticipated it, fulfilling his prediction in a literal sense of the phrase "on the third day;" and the second coming did not occur within a generation, has not, indeed, yet occurred; whether it will ever occur in the sense in which Jesus expected it, "human knowledge is too limited to be able to decide with certainty."

It is this last portion of the discussion which raises most serious doubt in the reader's mind. It may be freely admitted on the basis of Jesus' own testimony that he did not possess distributive omniscience respecting the future, even his own future. It may be granted that a large part of his utterances can be traced back to certain fundamental principles and primal elements of his consciousness. But aside from the question whether we are justified in making our mind the measure of his to the extent of denying to him the possession of all knowledge which *we* cannot thus prove that he *must* have possessed, the view of Schwartzkopff attributes to Jesus the solemn affirmation of things which were not true and which he could not have known. Is not this an immorality inconsistent with the sinlessness which Schwartzkopff attributes to Jesus — inconsistent with the self-knowledge and sincerity which we are compelled to attribute to him? Not to know involves no moral imperfection; to use current phraseology on a matter concerning which one has no definite knowledge involves no insincerity; but solemnly to affirm what one only guesses to be true involves either a self-ignorance which prevents discrimination between well-founded convictions and mere impressions, or an insincerity which permits one to put forth the latter as if they were the former. Does not the evidence of the New Testament definitely exclude both of these in the case of Jesus? Did he not above all things know himself, and the limitations of his own knowledge; was he not absolutely sincere in

his earnestness? The argument of Schwartzkopff at this point does not convince us. But thoughtful students of the New Testament will find the book, as a whole, well worthy their careful reading.

E. D. B.

The Veracity of the Hexateuch. A Defense of the Historic Character of the First Six Books of the Bible. By SAMUEL COLCORD BARTLETT, D.D., LL.D., ex-President of Dartmouth College. Chicago, New York, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co. Pp. xi + 404, 8vo. Cloth, $1.

One cannot help feeling admiration in opening a book in which an octogenarian has recorded the results of many years' successful study of the Old Testament, with reference to much of the latest literature. Evidently like Moses, of whom he writes, his eye is not dim nor his natural force abated.

Every evangelical scholar must be in heartiest sympathy with the object of the book. He writes for the edification of those who cannot accept the Hexateuch as possessing divine authority unless its veracity in fact, as well as in intent, as a record of actual events can be established.

It is difficult to change habits of the body, but much more difficult to change those of the mind, especially if they have to do with the most sacred convictions. Many a man feels as mournfully with regard to the new criticism as Mary with respect to the removal of the body of Jesus: "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." But the church must reach the position where it will hold that criticism can no more take away the fact that the Old Testament is a record of God's ancient revelation to Israel than that any human power could fetter the movements of the resurrection body of Jesus. While it is well to show confirmations of biblical records, it is not well to lead the church to pin its faith to such confirmations. The unique authority of Christ and his office as the Savior of men does not depend on the literal accuracy of the first three chapters of Genesis as sober history, nor on the accuracy of every detail in the first six books. It is hurtful to make claims that cannot be held regarding the origin and composition of the Hexateuch. The chief defect of Dr. Bartlett's book is in using arguments and drawing conclusions that cannot stand. I quite agree with Dr. Bartlett that the tendency of the present literary criticism, as applied to the parti-

tion of the documents, is to a *reductio ad absurdum*. But it must be remembered that the literary criticism of the Hexateuch is not to be judged merely by logical formulæ, but by the ascertainment of facts. Facts, once established, cannot be disproved by the follies or extravagances of investigators. Even such conservative scholars as Hommel and Klostermann admit the existence of different documents in the Hexateuch. Such an admission seems to be a necessity in the light of modern investigations. Dr. Green's recent volumes, which Dr. Bartlett considers easier to ignore than to answer, keen as they are, have not overthrown the main features of the analysis, since many explanations are required for the contrary contention where the one theory of different documents suffices.

Furthermore, the principle claimed that, since tests made of three-fourths of the narrative from Jesus to Joshua are favorable to its authenticity, the remaining fourth must also be authentic, is not in itself a good argument when we remember that modern investigation has shown that the earliest chapters of ancient national history are mythical. Of course, Dr. Bartlett might say that the Old Testament is on an entirely different plane as a divine book, but he does not distinctly make this claim.

The brief discussion of the priesthood and the codes near the end of the volume does not strengthen the book. The codes, so diverse from each other in many particulars, furnish the most difficult problem to the traditionalist, who ascribes their origin to one man in less than forty years, under the stationary conditions of ancient society. Dr. Bartlett says that Moses would see the necessity of such exact prescriptions at the very beginning of Israel's history. But according to the history and the testimony of the Old Testament itself, the great bulk of the priestly statutes were without force until the time of Ezra.

Dr. Bartlett does not too strongly condemn the view that the laws gathered in the Pentateuch under the name of Moses were a forgery. We may rather suppose that they arose as occasion required on the basis of ancient Mosaic law, and were finally written down in that collection which bore his name, as the collection of psalms bore the name of David, and Proverbs that of Solomon. But the conclusion toward which Dr. Bartlett's discussion seems to aim, that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch largely in its present form, is not justified.

SAMUEL IVES CURTISS.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Buddhism and Its Christian Critics. By DR. PAUL CARUS. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1897. Pp. 316, 8vo. Cloth, $1.25.

The reader who fears as thoroughgoing a polemic in this book as the title might indicate is doomed to a pleasant surprise. Only one of the six chapters (the last) is specifically polemic, though unfortunately the author's bias against Christianity is evident throughout.

The volume is really a defense of Buddhism. The author's method is, first, to expound Buddhism, as he understands it; second, to contrast with this exposition misrepresentations by Christian scholars. The first part he accomplishes in four chapters on the "Origin," the "Philosophy," the "Psychological Problem," and the "Basic Concepts of Buddhism." The fifth chapter compares Buddhism and Christianity in order to discover in how many points they agree. Last comes the chapter for which the book was named and written, on "Christian Critics and Buddhism." A preface and a short conclusion make up the rest of the volume.

It must be observed that the book shows no mark of the author's knowledge of Sanskrit or Pali. Every indication points to second-hand knowledge. This is urged, not as a reproach, but as a necessary factor in judging the book. In the present state of things, neither Dr. Carus nor any other can stand as an authority on Buddhism if he is not at home in the languages of Buddhist literature. The natural result of this second-hand knowledge is a lack of clearness in presentation. Thus the author, in stating the origin of Buddhism from Brahmanism, informs us (p. 14) that "the doctrines of Brahmanism are contained in their sacred writings, called the Vedas." He proceeds to say in the next sentence (on the purpose of sacrifice) that "We read in the *Vishnu-purâna*,"[1] etc. The uninformed might rashly infer from this that the Purânas are Vedas. Although the Purânas are sometimes called "the fifth Veda," because the Brahmans refer to them more than to the Vedas, yet they are no more Vedas than the Talmud is the Bible. Indeed, the Purânas play the same part in Brahmanism that the Talmud did in rabbinical Judaism.

Again, the author declares that the Buddha did not really deny the existence of the soul, only "the existence of a hypothetical soul-subject" (p. 25). But on p. 292 he quotes with approval from Monier Williams: "It (Buddhism) denied any eternal soul or *Ego* in man." In fact, so does our author juggle with "Atman" and "soul" that the reviewer

[1] Italized by the reviewer.

finds it impossible to discover just what Dr. Carus means to assert or to deny of the Buddhist doctrine of the soul. Had Dr. Carus used the phrase "permanent individuality" and asserted that Gautama denied that, *legerdemain* would have been unnecessary. The denial of what we mean by "soul" was the foundation of the Buddha's system.

Barring some obscurities, and omitting many unnecessary repetitions found in the book, the exposition of Buddhism given by Dr. Carus may stand as a fair setting forth of the principal points, though, to be sure, a better, clearer, and altogether more satisfactory account may be found in Rhys Davids' "Hibbert Lectures" or in his "American Lectures."

In taking up the last chapter, we must concede that the author has just ground for complaint in Christian misrepresentation of ethnic and particularly Buddhist religion. Dr. Cust in England has been more severe even than Dr. Carus. And our author has said some good things in this chapter. Listen to him! "I simply stand up for rigid justice, and would demand of every missionary a sympathetic comprehension of that religion which the people to whom he is sent have embraced." To which we say, Amen!

He then criticises several of the writers on ethnic religions, who come fairly enough under censure for lack of "sympathetic comprehension." Among those whose partisanship is criticised are Du Bose, author of *The Dragon, Image, and Demon*, the Buddhist scholar R. Spence Hardy, Charles Gutzlaff, G. Voight, and Adolph Thomas; even Sir Monier Williams has not escaped. Many of the points are well made. But, after all, the author shows himself as incapable of a "sympathetic comprehension" as those he censures for unfairness to Buddhism. He really proclaims himself a Buddhist, and puts himself beyond the possibility of a position sympathetic with Christianity. On p. 293 he quotes Monier Williams as follows: "[Buddhism] refused to admit the existence of a personal Creator, ... it denied any eternal soul or ego in man; . . . . it had no true idea of sin, or of the need of pardon, and it condemned man to suffer the consequences of his own sinful acts without hope of help from any Savior or Redeemer, and indeed from any being but himself." He then proceeds: "Now, as I understand Buddhism, all these drawbacks are its greatest glory; and if there is any truth in Christianity, Christianity also must possess these very same features." Of course, after that there is nothing more to say. If Christianity must become Buddhism — and that is the logical consequence, for the essence of Christianity is in what Buddhism denies — then there is an end to Christianity.

We wish the book had been couched in better English. For instance, why should we meet five times on one page the barbarism "missionarize"? The proof-reading is poorly done, errors are frequent. Apart from this the presswork is good and the binding neat.

GEO. W. GILMORE.

BANGOR, ME.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE last addition to "The Religion of Science Library" is *Chinese Philosophy*, by Paul Carus (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.; $0.25). In it is given in brief form the outlines of the chief philosophies, and it is illustrated with symbolical cuts.

MESSRS. HENRY HOLT & CO. will publish at once *A Primer of the Bible*, by Professor W. H. Bennett, M.A., of Hackney College, London, which is said to be a very compact and helpful manual for those who wish to study the Bible in the light of contemporary criticism.

WE have received from Longmans, Green & Co. a copy of the new issue of the Abridged Life of Jesus, by Alfred Edersheim (*Jesus the Messiah;* $1). The volume is too well known, even in shorter form, to require special discussion, but attention may be very well called to it once more.

IN *Hints on Bible Study*, John D. Wattles & Co. (Philadelphia, Pa.; $0.75) have gathered together in a little book a series of papers which have appeared occasionally during recent years in the *Sunday School Times*. These papers are by some of the most prominent of Bible scholars and should be in the hands of every Sunday-school teacher. They are naturally short and contain a good deal of valuable advice.

IN the new volume of "The Theological Educator," *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith* (New York: Thomas Whittaker; $0.75), Professor Orr has given a characteristically lucid criticism of the various Ritschlian positions in their relation to evangelical theology. He is not by any means over-friendly to the newer thought, but holds himself severely to as impartial a view as possible. While at times it may be he hardly gives the school the credit for all that it is worth, it must be said that there is no other presentation of the matter in English so well done or readable.

In the *Personal Friendships of Jesus* Dr. J. R. Miller (New York: Crowell & Co.; $1) has given a series of studies along lines well indicated by the title of the volume. The work has the general character possessed by other works of Dr. Miller, and is marked by deep sympathy with the thought and life of Jesus. While not especially scholarly, it is destined to be of service as homiletic reading.

We have received from John D. Wattles & Co. *A Chart of Christ's Journeying*, prepared by C. E. Arnold. It is based upon Professor Riddle's outline, *Harmony of the Gospels*. It is arranged in three main columns. In the middle is a description of events happening during a given period, on the right of which are the special references, and on the left four maps in which are indicated the journeyings of Jesus during each of the four periods of his life. This volume may be of some value, but the maps are thoroughly incorrect in places, not only in that they take Jesus to such places as the cities of Tyre and Sidon, but also in that they entirely neglect the roads and paths over which Jesus went.

The first volume in the New Testament series of "The Modern Reader's Bible" by Professor Moulton (Macmillan Co.; $0.50) contains Matthew, Mark, and the general epistles. In the arrangement of the epistles it is hardly possible for Professor Moulton to do more than to reparagraph, and to print the quotations in italics, although in the case of the epistle of James, which he treats as a form of wisdom literature, he is able to give its contents something of the form with which he has familiarized us in his treatment of the Old Testament. His method is also especially adapted to those portions of Matthew which deal with the teachings of Jesus. Here his arrangement is sometimes very suggestive, although it might have been well to have set forth more explicitly the occasional strophaic form of Jesus' thought.

The latest volume of "The International Theological Library" is that of Professor A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions* (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons; $2.50, *net*). Were it not that this volume treats of matters which are largely outside of the province of the Biblical World, it would deserve the most careful review. It is written with characteristic literary finish, and contains many sections well worth quoting simply for their literary excellence. It has in addition a scholarly chapter on presbyters, bishops, and deacons, and another upon the apostles, prophets, and teachers. Perhaps the most valuable

portion of the book, if it were possible to distinguish between the material, all of which is valuable, would be Book III, upon "Christian Worship." It is worth noticing, also, that the volume is written with a constant thought of the relation of the early Christian institutions and thought to modern life and theology.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Chalk Lines over Morals. By Rev. Charles Caverno, A.M., LL.D. (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.; 313 pp.) $0.75.

In Search of a Religion. By Dennis Hird. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; 245 pp.)

Doctrines of Christ, or, The Teachings of Jesus. By Rev. J. M. Conner, S.T.D. (Little Rock, Ark.: Printing Department of Shorter University; 204 pp.)

The Protestant Faith, or, Salvation by Belief. By Dwight Hinckley Olmstead. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; 80 pp.)

In His Steps; "What Would Jesus Do?" By Charles M. Sheldon. (Chicago: Advance Publishing Co.; 282 pp.) $0.75.

A National Church. By William Reed Huntington. (New York: Scribner's Son's; 109 pp.) $1.

Guide-Boards for Teachers in the Sunday School. By W. H. Hall. (Philadelphia: John D. Wattles & Co.; 120 pp.) $0.75.

The Significance of the Westminster Standards as a Creed. By Benjamin B. Warfield. (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons; 36 pp.) $0.75.

The Presbyterian Quarterly, No. 43; 23 pp.

The Conversion of Children. By Rev. Edward Payson Hammond, M.A. (Boston: James E. Earle; 99 pp.)

The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in the Light of Forty Years. By Rev. F. H. Kerfoot, D.D., LL.D. (Louisville, Ky.: Charles T. Dearing; 52 pp.) $0.10.

The Queen's Daughters in India. By Elizabeth W. Andrew and Katharine C. Bushnell. (Oakland, Cal.: Pacific Press Publishing Co.; 119 pp.) $0.25.

The Bearing of Evolution upon Religious Thought. By Rev. Robert Jardine, D.Sc. (Chicago: Leonard Tillotson; 14 pp.)

Apostolic Preaching. By Charles A. Cook. (American Baptist Publication Society; 24 pp.)

Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII on English Ordinations. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co.; 48 pp.)

Should there be an Invitation? By Professor Arthur Jones, D.D. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society; 16 pp.)

The Expository Times, By Rev. James Hastings, M.A., D.D. (New York: The Christian Literature Co.; 96 pp.)

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THE LORD'S SUPPER

Alexander Bida

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME XI MAY, 1898 NUMBER 5

LIFE begins not at birth, but at the moment of conception. Christianity was growing in the womb of history through all the centuries from history's beginning. We are told today that the study of life in its pre-natal existence, during the embryonic stage, is as important as during the period which follows birth.

THE EMBRYONIC STAGE

Did Christianity have a father? (We are speaking now of Christianity, not of Christ.) Yes—the Spirit of God. And the mother of Christianity? She who carried the gradually increasing burden until, with all the pains of parturition, birth was given? The soul of humanity, itself created for this greatest of all services. There was a deal of Christianity in the world before Christ came. For centuries events had been transpiring, thought had been growing, God had been making himself known. The climax of these events of world history, the culmination of this world thought, the consummation of the divine self-manifestation—in these Christianity had birth.

PRE-NATAL CHRISTIANITY

But what before the birth? Three principal elements, strongly and wonderfully combined, made up this pre-natal Christianity. The latest of these elements to appear was the Roman. It was this element which contributed the outer form and organization. A more potent element was the Greek, which marks the transition from

THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS

the embryonic to the fetal stage. With the introduction of the Greek intellectual force there comes a movement and an activity which had not been known before. But, after all, the most potent element was the Hebrew, since this constituted not only the germ but the very essence of the life which was later to be born.

Christianity a Development

The figure may be crude and rough, and must not be pressed too far or too closely; but, inadequate as it is, we may be helped by its use to grasp a thought to which some of us, perhaps, have not definitely turned our minds — that Christianity, as it appeared in the teachings of Christ and the apostles, was the resultant of forces which had been in operation fifty centuries; the outgrowth of many closely interwoven influences; the highest stage in a development of life and thought toward which all the centuries of history had pointed, combining all Hebrew religious thought, Greek philosophic thought, and Roman organization.

Judaism

The Hebrew element was in itself a growth, in which three stages may easily be distinguished. The last of these was Judaism, produced in the furnace of Babylonian captivity; with its Ezra and Nehemiah, its Judas and Jonathan and Simon Maccabee; with its ecclesiastical hierarchy and its complicated ritualism; with its brilliant but exclusive patriotism, its stubborn loyalty; with its scribes, its high priests, and synagogues; with its washings and purifications, its sabbaths and fasts and days of atonement; with its peculiar emphasis upon the holiness of God and the deep spiritual comprehension of true religious feeling; with its legalism and its wisdom.

Israel

But Judaism was a daughter, the clearly marked descendant of that sublime movement in thought and life which, beginning with the deliverance from one exile and captivity — that of Egypt, continued through a thousand years of war and conflict, a thousand years of internecine strife,

a thousand years of divine favor and rebuke, a thousand years of prophets and psalmists, a thousand years of diplomatic dealings with Egypt and Assyria, and of contact with the world on every side; and closed, as it had begun, with another exile and captivity, darker and more galling for its leaders than that of Egypt — the seventy years of heartache and despair, of God-abandonment in the Babylonian captivity. This was the period of Israel, of kings and prophets, of wonders and miracles.

The Semitic

Israel was the mother of Judaism, but Judaism was likewise a grandchild; and in her case, as often happens, there reappeared many of the peculiar traits of the grandparent. For back in the most ancient times we see roaming to and fro on the great desert parallelogram of Arabia the tribes from which later Israel sprang. The barbarous horde, consisting of those whom in after-times we know as Arameans, Edomites, Moabites, and others, has drifted away from the old motherland Arabia, where life was so monotonous and existence so difficult, bringing with them "a curious passion of mixed resignation and hot anger," the habit of detaching soul from body, which is cultivated by the long fasts and severe life of such a climate. They have a country religion, as yet uninfluenced by contact with the great civilization of Egypt and Babylonia, with a god who, though strikingly personal, means to them one irresistible force and power. With this idea taking concrete form in a particular god for each separate tribe, and intensified, but not modified, by the rigid and monotonous desert life; with nature suggesting "no bright and varied life, but only the august and uniform omnipotence that kills as well as vivifies;" with a religious life which, in this environment, finds expression in fanaticism and wild enthusiasm, of which self-mutilation and child-sacrifice are a witness; with an invincible idealism which pervades and controls all else; with no ritual or priestly system; with no ethical standards — for at this time might, not right, is the highest idea; with all this, these primitive barbaric tribes move west from Mesopotamia, take posession of Palestine, wandering from place to place, until, as time

passes on, one after another settles down to agricultural life. This life, and this beginning of thought, which we may call Semitic, in a narrow sense, was the source of Israelitish life and thought, which in turn was the source of Judaism, and this, combined with Greek and Roman influences, was the source of Christianity.

Three Elements

But now, as we observe the mother and the daughter, and the daughter's daughter, one following closely upon the other, we discover three distinct elements, closely interwoven, which, working together, seem to explain this most striking evolution. These three factors consist of three guilds, or schools, of thinkers and workers. Each guild has its roots in the oldest times, each has its period of special growth, each its day of highest exaltation and its day of death.

The Prophet

There was the guild of prophets, some of whom were mere soothsayers, who resort to the ministrations of music in order to arouse themselves into ecstatic frenzy; some, dreaming seers, as much awake when sleep settled down upon their eyes as they were asleep, to all that was about them, in their waking moments; some, priests whom the prophetic spirit had aroused, but had not wholly subjugated; some, the greatest souls the world ever knew, whose hearts were touched by the spirit of the living God, whose eyes were open to visions of divine glory, whose arms were steeled by a courage born of close communion with higher powers.

The Priest

There was the guild of priests, some of whom groveled about in the mire of covetousness and pollution, encouraging men to sin, that they, the priests, might have the sin-offering; some, perfunctory officials, with whom the letter of service was all-sufficient; some, true mediators between man and God, and teachers of the holiest and divinest truths; some of them, in their ministrations of divine things, reaching so near to God himself as to exhibit, in their lives and thoughts, the very essence of divinity.

There was the guild of sages, some of whom were wise in things that related to birds and beasts and herbs and trees; some of whom stood at the city gate, reaching out the hand to brother man with words of kindly wisdom as to conduct and duty, of parent toward child, of child toward parent, of husband and wife, of officer and prince; some of them teaching in plain and simple speech the constitution of the universe, the laws of the great God, a knowledge of which was the beginning of wisdom; some of them making heroic and successful effort to grapple with the problems which enter into the ever-changing, but never-ending, tragedies of life, the ministry of suffering and its function, the strength of sexual love and its dangers, the vanity of intellectual skepticism and its end.

The Sage

The prophet was the idealist, the priest the ritualist, the sage the humanist. The prophet's thought centered upon the nation, the priest's upon the church, the sage's upon the world; each of the three represented great currents of thought. To understand Christianity, one must know prenatal Christianity; and to have this knowledge, it is necessary to take up each of the three elements in turn, and to ask, What did it contribute to Christianity? For what is Christianity its debtor?

The Three

LITERARY INFLUENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK RELIGION.

By Arthur Fairbanks, Ph.D.,
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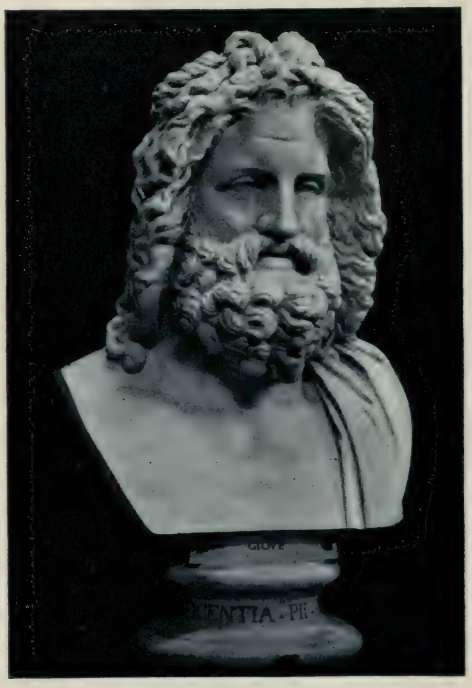
The student who in college has learned to know the gods of Greece mainly from his Homer finds it difficult to realize that there is any such thing as Greek *religion*. The gods of whom he reads are anything but beings to be worshiped. The occasional description of a real god, such as the Apollo whom Chryses worshiped, is forgotten in the general conception of the gods on Olympos. Beings governed by momentary passion and by personal spite, seeking their ends by underhanded intrigue, now boasting, now fighting, now leaving the affairs of men to take their course while the gods enjoy their banquet — such are the deities we find in the epic. We have no need of our Plato to learn that Homer is not the best teacher of Greek religion. The epic was composed to please, not to "edify," an audience, and it was this æsthetic end which completely controlled its treatment of the gods. While drawing much of its material from actual religious practice, the immediate purpose of the singer was absolutely non-religious. The myths of the gods first took literary form in the epic, and the epic manner of treating the gods determined the literary treatment of myth in later times. The poetic standpoint once established, it continued; Greek literature was dominated by it; it modified Greek worship; the systems of mythology gave it full and final expression.

This influence of the epic in shaping Greek myths is too familiar to need restatement. I wish rather to point out that, much as poetic art has done to rob the individual gods of their essential nature, Greek literature beginning with the epic has

nevertheless exerted a strong influence toward elevating the general idea of God. It was, of course, possible for the epic poet to treat his gods as epic heroes; and, as a matter of fact, in the Theomachy, the battle of the gods, the Olympian deities are just such heroes. The contrast between the Theomachy and much of the remainder of the epic illustrates the purpose of the poet to retain his gods as gods, and even to make them greater, in order to serve his æsthetic end. It is not too much to say that, with this purpose in view, the epic poet really succeeded in elevating the gods to a higher plane than the gods of local worship. In the epic poems the gods became more *human*, and at the same time more truly *universal spirits*, than they had been before.



HEAD OF ZEUS FROM OTRICOLI

This copy, if so it may be called, of the Zeus of Pheidias exaggerates some details so as almost to destroy the effect of the whole. The mass of flowing locks and the heavy eyebrows obscure the original conception, but some of the force, the dignity, the divine benevolence of the original remain.

With reference to the first point—and I speak chiefly of the epic because it did so much more than any later form of literature to shape the ideas of Greek gods—the humanizing influence of literature could not touch the gods without making them more human. The relations of the gods were conceived in the form of the human family; and this was not merely a genealogy of the gods, the crude beginnings of which are found in all but the lowest forms of religion, but, more than this, the social and ethical relations of the family were transferred to the gods. Zeus

is called "Father Zeus," "the father of gods and men," frequently in the epic. No doubt the phrases have primary reference to the genealogy of gods and heroes, but in the hands of the poet they mean more than this. Athena is the beloved daughter, addressed in terms of paternal affection; when Artemis has been chastised by Hera, Zeus takes her on his knee to comfort her; Apollo is the favorite son, the very embodiment of the will of Zeus in directing the affairs of gods and men. When the appointed hour is come for the death of Sarpedon and again of Hektor, human sons of Zeus, the god is tempted to save them even contrary to fate. In the relations of Zeus and Hera are reflected the ideas which the poet has gained from his intercourse with the families of human rulers. The conception of the goddess mother which later attained so beautiful a development, is found in germ in the epic. The tender care of Thetis, the divine mother, for her human son; the maternal majesty of Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis; the relation of Hera to Hephaistos and in a late passage to Aphrodite, are examples of the mother-idea as it began to create a divine mother.

Again, the relations of the human state were the pattern on which the poet represented the state of the gods. Zeus became a human king, and often the greatness of his power led the poet to represent him as showing so much the more caprice and boastfulness. Still the idea of the human king was the starting point or nucleus around which the conceptions of divine might could gather and crystallize into definite form. To us the bright sky suggests more that is divine than does a human king. And yet, when the epic poet made Zeus the spirit of the sky into Zeus the king of the gods, I believe it marked an advance in Greek religion. Zeus became more human and more real for men; the foundations were laid for that religious conception of Zeus which embodied the highest Greek idea of God, and opened the way for the development of a philosophic monotheism.

Once more the gods of the epic are made human in that human virtues, and indeed human vices, are accredited to them. Justice and its enforcement are lodged in the hands of the gods;

they rule and judge like human kings, but more justly. The truth—and the deception—that men practice are seen also in their gods. The epic gods are no mere spirits of nature; they are closely connected with human heroes by ties of blood; they are angry at insults offered to their sons, and they pity men in their suffering. The very politeness of the royal court on earth is reflected on Olympos.

In a word, the epic makes the gods more human at whatever point it touches them. The touch often shows but little reverence, and its aim is not religious; the gods are taken away from the limited group of their worshipers, and lose their awfulness and their indefiniteness. Nevertheless, in making the gods more human, and thereby more real and definite persons, the epic did what local worship often failed to do—it gave the people an idea of God that was in harmony with their advance in intelligence. In this way it elevated the general conception of God.

The influence of the epic was not limited to this humanizing effect; in the second place, it elevated the general conception of God by making the gods more universal, and, in a way, more spiritual. The worship of the gods in Greece continued to be distinctly local, in spite of the epic. The whole influence of the epic, however, tended to cut the ties which bound its gods to definite localities; and in the poems themselves this end is so successfully accomplished that not many clews to the origin of these gods are left. For the epic world Apollo and Athena have "houses" at rocky Pytho and at Athens, but themselves live on Olympos, and their sphere of influence is not limited to any one locality. The wandering poet broke through the provincial bounds that separated one city and province from another, and, while listening to him, men felt themselves in a new world, far more extended than any they had realized before. In this world the gods had their place; the universalizing power of the epic which brought different races into one "universe," made the gods also universal. In undergoing this experience the gods were cut off from the religious influences of worship; nevertheless the conception of God was elevated, and the time

came at length when worship had to adapt itself to the higher conception.

It was part of the same process that the gods were made more spiritual; by which I mean primarily that they were made less subject to the limitations of the human body. The god of local worship acts within the sphere of his worshipers and within their territory, but no farther. The epic extended this first by transferring the homes of the gods to Olympos, and giving them the power of rapid transit to the place where they wished to act. In Olympos they do not at first know what happens on earth—Ares does not know of the death of his son Askalaphos—and when Zeus would turn the tide of battle, he must send Iris with a message to Poseidon to stay him, and send Apollo down to help the Trojans on the field of battle. It is a step in advance when Zeus, and generally the other gods, know what happens on earth when they themselves are in Olympos; and, finally, there are many instances in which the gods determine human events without being themselves present. The epic naturally prefers to represent the gods as present and taking part in the action; nevertheless, the idea of a god not subject to limitations of space is developed in the epic.

It is natural, once more, for the epic to represent the gods as making their will known to men by appearing to them in human form, or, perhaps, by addressing them with human voice. Still, the epic goes so far in the spiritualization of the gods as sometimes to represent them as communicating their will to a man's mind without the use of external means. In this case, as in the last, the epic goes a step farther in the spiritualization of the gods than its immediate literary end demands.

In handling the idea of fate the epic laid the foundation for a higher conception of the gods at another point. The Greek sought help from his gods, and if the help did not come, he said "The god is capricious," or "It is fated that I do not receive it." The idea of the caprice and envy of the gods is left by the epic about as it is found in local worship; not so the idea of fate. In saying "It is fated" the disappointed worshiper recognized the great, dark background of his religion, all

the world outside his city and his gods, all the powers superhuman that lay beyond his ken. He knew no larger world than the little group of fellow-citizens and the gods who were in league with them; but he knew that there was an infinitely greater "outside," both human and divine, and the "It is fated" was the interference of this outside in his own life. This idea of fate—which corresponds to a very common idea of the supernatural today—was the greatest obstacle to a rational, even a poetic-rational, conception of the universe. The idea could not remain in the form in which it had existed. In the first place, the dark outside is in the epic reduced to a definite, distinct order of events. The *Moira* of Homer is not "The power I do not know;" it has become for the poem "The definite order according to which events are to take place." In order to reconcile with it the power of gods and men, it is conceived much as we conceive a human law; *i. e.*, man or God can act contrary to fate (*ὑπὲρ μόρον*), but he will suffer for it. It is the aim of the gods to realize, so far as they can, this order of events; it leaves them considerable freedom in carrying out their whims, but even when their personal desires would lead them contrary to it, their purpose is always the realization of it. This reconciliation of Fate and the gods may seem superficial; it no longer holds good for a "divine tragedy," a tragedy of the gods, like the Prometheus Bound; but it is an immense advance on the popular idea associated with local worship.

The elevating influence of literature on the conceptions of the gods is by no means limited to the Homeric poems, though in the nature of the case it appears most clearly in this first great product of Greek literary genius. Later literature followed the lines laid down in the epic, but carried farther the work of the epic in this direction. In the hands of later poets the lower, cruder myths of the gods were either wholly rewritten or set aside. In Pindar myth takes approximately its proper place as the true interpreter of the idea of the god (or the gods) on this a high stage of culture. In Attic tragedy deep religious questions are handled in concrete form by the poet, and the idea of the gods is deepened and enriched by the effort

of literature to present the problems of life to a cultured audience. It is not necessary, for my purpose, to trace this process farther in detail, for it is with reference to Homer that the question is in dispute. Here, as I have tried to show by a few examples, I believe that, in spite of the non-religious character of the poems, they did elevate the general conception of God.

II.

The process of the changes in local worship under the influence of the higher ideas of God that higher culture had embodied in poetry is not one that can be closely followed. We do know something of the transformation of religious festivals in Attica, as they developed under the hands of Peisistratos and of Perikles; we know that worship and religion changed to correspond with the new city life, and the new state life; but we cannot trace in this process the influence of the literary conceptions of the gods. That the literary idea of the gods was an influential factor in the remodeling of worship we cannot doubt, so that it is the more interesting when at one point we find clear evidence of the influence of Homer. I refer to the expression of the idea of God in the new temple art. And here we see that the germs of higher religious truth which were embodied in secular poetry, after lying dormant, perhaps, for centuries, had at last found a congenial soil in the mind of the artist.

For instance, in the marbles from the temple of Athena in Ægina, the Athena on the eastern pediment is not the goddess of some local worship that has been transposed into a wild scene of battle. She is not, on the other hand, the Athena of Homer who stood behind Achilles, and caught hold of his golden hair, and bade him not to draw his sword. Rather this being of calm majesty is a goddess whose true power is recognized by the worshiper, but who has been made more divine and at the same time more humanly real by the influence of the epic. So, too, the Apollo who stands so quietly extending his right hand over the fierce conflict of Centaur and Lapith on the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia shows these same influences.

APOLLO ON THE WEST PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA

He is not the Apollo as he is commonly represented in the epic, snatching away Agenor from the pursuit of Achilles and taunting the baffled pursuer, or standing beside Hektor in the form of a brother to stir up his spirit for battle. Nor does this seem to me to be the face of the prophet-god at Delphi, whose spirit possessed the Pythia, and chanted by her voice oracular response to eager questions. Rather this is the Apollo, invisible to combatants but present in the combat, who is the true son of Zeus carrying out the will of Zeus on earth—a god with human feelings and human passion and the *realness* of a man, yet a god far superior to all that is human in beauty and in majesty, in wisdom and in strength, a god such as the poets of Greece have taught men that the gods are.

Again, if we look at the gods on the Parthenon frieze, or as they sit in assembly on the occasion of the birth of Athena on the east pediment of the Parthenon, the influence of literature, and in particular of the epic, cannot be overlooked. The form of Iris—if it be Iris that still keeps her gaze fixed on the wonderful scene of Athena's birth as she hastens to bear to the world the good tidings of a goddess of wisdom born from the head of Zeus himself—is a direct reminiscence of the messenger of the gods in the *Iliad*. Or, again, on the frieze that massive form of Poseidon sitting at his ease, the long locks clinging to his neck as if they were still wet from the dampness of the sea, the trident or some other symbol in his raised hand—this is the god in the Homeric poems who perhaps comes nearest to Zeus himself in power and majesty.

It is in the case of the temple image that these influences are most apparent. Nowhere is religion generally more conservative, nowhere was Greek religion more conservative, than in the images of the gods in the temples. Some unformed stone, occasionally, it is said, of meteoric origin; some block of wood, with perhaps a rudely carved human face, that could be clothed and cared for by the priests—these were the "idols," the images that long were held sacred in Greek temples. But such images were out of harmony with the splendid structures that at length were built for Greek worship, and occasionally a

new temple afforded opportunity for some new likeness of the god who was to be worshiped there.

In the two familiar temple statues by Pheidias, two of the most famous products of Greek art, we see the ultimate expression of the ideals that have gradually been formed under the double influence of worship and of poetry. In the temple of Zeus at Olympia some remains of the base of the statue may still be traced. The god was represented as seven or eight times life size, seated, the scepter in his left hand and a winged "Victory" on his extended right hand.

THE ZEUS OF PHEIDIAS
From a coin of Hadrian

According to an interesting story preserved in Strabo (VIII, p. 354), Pheidias, being asked on what model he was going to make the image of Zeus, said that he should make it on the model proposed by Homer in the verses: "Then in truth did Kronion nod with his dark eyebrows; and the divine locks fell waving from his immortal head, and he shook great Olympos." It is at the least interesting that the Zeus of Pheidias was associated in popular thought with the Zeus of Homer. None of the epic gods was so truly a god as Zeus. He is almost a god above the gods, ruling in his might, directing the general course of events, while other gods are busied with particular details. The lofty mien, the calm majesty, and at the same time the fatherly care for men that mark Zeus in many parts of the epic, still more in later literature, are given artistic form in the temple image at Olympia. The god that is worshiped has been united with the idea of God that has been elevated and purified by the poet, and the result is this masterpiece of temple sculpture. And here, also, it is through the artist that the happy union has been effected.

It is commonly held that the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias, the gold and ivory statue of Athena for the Parthenon, was constructed before the statue of Zeus. In this case, as in the case of Zeus, the artist was dealing with a god that had been a principal figure in the epic. The goddess who received the worship

of Trojan women, but did not grant their prayer; the goddess ever jealous for the Greeks, and especially watchful for Diomedes and Odysseus; a goddess, but, more than Ares, the real god of war with whom the helmet and shield had become indissolubly associated—this is the Athena of Homer. The influence of the old religion was so strong that the old olive-wood image of Athena was still retained, and still worshiped as most holy. The work of Pheidias was executed under these two influences, the influence of an earnest Athena worship, and the influence of a literary and poetic treatment of the goddess, that had gone on for many centuries.

Athena was represented in repose, standing, the shield by her side, the rested spear in one hand and a "Victory" in the other. She is still the goddess of war, protector of the city; but the shield stands on the ground, and the confidence of victory and peace is apparent in the whole figure. The fire and the strength of this goddess of war, the repose, the quiet majesty of the goddess who is above men and their strife, the kindliness and the wisdom of the goddess that guarded the city—these are some of the qualities that characterize the ideal of Pheidias.

If we ask once more the source of this ideal, it is plain that it cannot have been the product of that worship on the Acropolis which was satisfied with the rude image that marked the presence of the city-goddess. In the human realness as well as in the divine majesty of this statue, in its lofty spiritual tone, in the power and the wisdom and the watchfulness of the goddess, we cannot fail to see the artistic realization of these qualities that had first found birth in the epic, and that had been developed and perfected by the religious insight of later poets.

It is an accepted principle that religious progress is through great personal leaders. In Palestine it was the prophet who grasped clearly the latent truths of the religion of Jehovah, and with fiery energy worked out their realization. In Greece it was first the poet, and indeed the poet whose end was pure poetry, who understood something of the meaning of the gods, and who gave to this meaning a concrete form in his poetry. It was the

later religious poet who found a deeper meaning in religion, and who conceived the gods in a more truly religious mold. It was finally the reverent artist, who, inspired by these poetic ideals, gave them expression in plastic art, and put before the very eyes of the people a higher conception of the gods than they had themselves been able to reach. In the Greek ideals of the gods, and certainly in Greek worship also, there is a genuine religious meaning that has been partly obscured for us by the æsthetic end of the Homeric poems, and almost hidden by the laborious makers of systems of Greek mythology.

ATHENA
From a coin of Athens

THE INFLUENCE OF THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF JESUS ON THE DOCTRINE OF GOD.

By Professor George B. Foster,
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It need scarcely be said that the sources from which Jesus' thought of God is to be derived are the gospels directly, and the epistles indirectly, unless indeed the gospel of John, which is not pure history, and does not profess to be, be classified as likewise indirect source. At all events, the substantial reliability of these sources is assumed here—an assumption which will not be contested by those for whom this discussion is intended.

1. So manifold is the method employed by Jesus in expressing his thought of God—direct statement, parable, moral postulate, revelation in life and death, apostolic witness—that one feels difficulty in forming any conclusion, in respect to the content of that belief, that will do justice to the total data. To be sure, there is always the consideration of the incompleteness of the material, partial induction of facts, and hasty and unwarranted inferences. This suggests the importance of everyone pursuing the investigation and verifying conclusions for himself. Owing to lack of space, process must be suppressed here, and only conclusion given, with perhaps a word or two in support of it.

The conclusion is that the thoughts of Jesus in respect to God may be gathered around the two words *king* and *father*. Briefly said, "king" symbolizes the power and glory and awfulness of God; "father," the love, grace and faithfulness of God.

This conclusion is rendered antecedently probable by a consideration drawn from the history of religion in general and the revelation-religion *par excellence* in particular. If what God in his brooding over man had already accomplished of self-revelation prophesied and necessitated new stages of revelation, and

if there be unity in God's revelation, as indeed there must be since God is one God (Rom. 3:29, 30), there is already a presumption in favor of our conclusion. For the history of religion shows that the belief in God leaped forth at its dawn in the personification of nature-powers exciting fear and awe, on the one hand, and in animistic ideas, forerunners of ancestor-cult, on the other. The evolution of the former led to the idea of the power and majesty of the divine, that is, to the conception of God as king; of the latter, to the moral nature of the divine, that is, to the conception of God as father, whatever name in each case the worshiper named him. The title father is given to God in all the higher religions. The ancient Greeks called God "the father of gods and men." We are also his offspring, says a poet quoted by Paul. "The quotation[1] is from a curious poem by Aratus, a native of Cilicia, Paul's own province, who lived about 300 B. C. The poem is a rendering into verse of an astronomical treatise by the same author. It opens with an invocation to Zeus:

> From Zeus begin: and never let us leave
> His name unloved. With Him, with Zeus, are filled
> All paths we tread and all the marts of men;
> Filled, too, the sea and every creek and bay:
> And all, in all things, need we help of Zeus;
> For we, too, are His offspring."

Not to dwell upon extra-Christian religions, appeal may be made to Old Testament theology in support of the proposition of both ideas in the religion of revelation. This science exhibits the development of the idea of God, passing from a primitive stage belonging to the sphere of natural religion on to a degree of spiritual moral character, the highest conceivable within the limits of the national consciousness. Here, too, the notion of kingliness grew from the natural, fatherliness from the moral. God is taskmaster, lawgiver, and judge; but, also, Israel's creator, redeemer, protector. The nation knew itself to be, not only servant who experiences the master's power and rigor, but also son, first born, heir, who experiences the father's love.[2] "Thou

[1] DALE in *Expositor*, February, 1898, p. 58.

[2] *Cf.* Ex. 4:23; Deut. 1:31; 8:5; Hos. 11:1; Jer. 31:9–20; Mal. 2:10, etc.

art our father, O Lord, our redeemer from everlasting is thy name" (Isa. 63 : 16). While the idea of kingliness is dominant in pre-Christian Judaism, it can by no means be said that the name father as applied to God is to be regarded as merely exceptional — it is there organically.

But this brief reference to the subject is sufficient for the purpose of this paper. Assuming orderliness and development in revelation, we would naturally expect to find the two moments recurring in the faith of Jesus. And this is what we do find. On the one hand, the thought of Jesus is affiliated upon the Old Testament conception of the living, holy, supramundane God, who is to be obeyed and feared. He confesses the "God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob," the "God of Israel." To his faith, God is "Lord of heaven and earth," to whom "all things are possible." "Heaven is his throne, the earth his footstool;" "Jerusalem the city of the great King." Especially does all human fear vanish before the fear of "Him who can destroy both soul and body in hell." On the other hand, God is father, to the faith of Jesus. In his case, faith in God as his father is a feeling of the abiding nearness of God; the filial consciousness which knows nothing distant, strange, unfamiliar, unhomelike in his father; the jublilant certainty that God has completely disclosed his heart to him. "The son *knoweth* the father."[3] Jesus felt that there was a depth and intimacy of God's fatherliness toward him, which was exceptional, unshared, and unique. Not that he held that he was coördinate with God. To his pious soul God never ceased to be his God. His uniqueness would have been poor comfort to his devoted and dependent spirit, if thereby he were to become without God.

But, again, does Jesus consider that God is the father of all men? The burden of the apostolic testimony is that God is "the father of our Lord Jesus Christ," and our father through Jesus Christ. In John's gospel, Jesus as the son is the correla-

[3] *Knoweth*, not speculatively or mystically or ecstatically, but morally, by the obedience and fellowship of the right kind of life. Jesus seems to have believed that he alone mediated the perfect knowledge of the father through his own experience of sonship — an experience which was unmediated, immediate, and therefore unique. (Matt. 11 : 27.)

tive to father, words which have deep signification in this gospel, and the fatherliness of God to other men is grounded in their relation of faith and life in the only begotten son. And, moreover, the matter may as well rest here if dependence is to be placed only in some distinct or definite passage in the synoptics in which Jesus teaches explicitly that God is the equal father of all mankind. For there is no such passage. But other considerations may be urged on account of which it is impossible to let the matter rest here. It is important to make the all too tardy remark that the expression "fatherhood of God" is as extra-scriptural as misleading. In the popular mind fatherhood is a word with an ontological connotation, and refers to the structural constitution and character of God. Thus the word directs attention to what God is metaphysically rather than morally. But such a conception is foreign to the mind of the biblical writers in general and to Jesus in particular. Their sole thought in the use of the word father is to express a certain moral attitude, purpose, feeling of God toward man — therefore the *fatherliness*, not the fatherhood, of God. Metaphysically, God is the father of no man. Morally, he is the father of all men, in varying degrees indeed, for fatherliness and filialness are correlative terms. Thus, there is of necessity a cordiality, a complacency, an intimacy, in God's fatherliness toward Jesus and those whom Jesus has brought into filial relations to God, which could not obtain between God and the impious. Nevertheless, the absence of filialness in man does not extirpate the fatherliness of that God whom Jesus had in mind when he said: "Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust" (Matt. 5 : 44, 45). Furthermore, if God were universal King and not universal Father, would not sin have to be interpreted as a rebellion against authority, or an insult to dignity, rather than the cruel and guilty thing that it is, viz., a wound inflicted upon the heart of Love? How can sin be made to appear exceedingly sinful if it be not seen to be impiety toward a father, and how can misery be known at its depth if

it be due simply to the disobedience of a servant to his master, and not to the loneliness and degradation and remorse of a lost child that has exiled itself from the father's home? Such, at least, would seem to be fairly implied in Jesus' own parable of the Prodigal Son. The matter might have been cut short by saying that the correlative of monotheism is universalism.[4]

Thus it appears that, to Jesus, God is King absolute and Father absolute. But these two are not like the two foci of an ellipse, but the center of a circle. The King is fatherly and the Father is kingly. Kingliness is ethicized by fatherliness, and fatherliness is energized by kingliness. God as king is the all-controlling power, the will on which all is dependent; God as father is the eternal goodness by which this omnipotent will is determined and moved. These two thoughts of God not only do not conflict, but reciprocally condition and require each other. Fatherliness attains its fruition when the Almighty, protecting his supremacy to be sure, exalts man to himself in free, prevenient, unmerited love; and almightiness finds its paramount and worthy task in the actual attestation of the fatherly love toward man, in the endowment of man with the kingdom of God. It need scarcely be added that, in Jesus' belief, the real center is not on the side of kingliness but fatherliness, for "God *is* love." But what man needed most of all to learn was just the truth, immediately certain to Jesus, that "the All-Great is the All-Loving too." Neither Christ's thought nor man's need goes beyond this. It is the absolute religion.

2. But it is a more complicated task to establish the principles according to which a critical valuation may be made of the influence of Christ upon the doctrine of God, and this paper is concerned, above everything else, precisely with the valuation of that, in his belief about God, which, in the long historical movement, has the merit of progress, of originality. What, in his belief, is to be credited to inheritance and environment? Suppose that by some alchemy the possession which he shared with his predecessors and contemporaries could be disengaged, would the residuum, if there be a residuum, be fairly the limit

[4] The word does not connote "universal salvation" here.

of his originality, the source and measure of his influence upon the doctrine of God? There are considerations decisive against the adequacy and justness of this standard. For one thing, it will appear that, while many, perhaps all, of his thoughts of God may be discovered among the sayings of men of religious geniality prior to his day, yet no religious genius had cherished all of them, nor held them in the same combination and with the same emphasis. All the tones or notes of a musical masterpiece may be detected by the expert elsewhere; but the harmony is new, its constructive idea is original, its influence peculiarly its own. The composer of the production did not cull out the notes from other compositions and piece them together in an outward and mechanical whole; the masterpiece is not an aggregate of tones from without, but the evolution of a musical life from within. So, similarly, Jesus' belief concerning God may exist in its separate constituents elsewhere, but he was no eclectic putting opinions together in an arbitrary whole foreign to his own consciousness of God. His belief was unitary, *aus einem Guss;* to it is to be accorded the originality of wholeness and harmony, of inwardness and depth. But for another thing, the measure of his influence upon the doctrine of God may not be narrowed to the novelty of his contribution in ideas to that doctrine. For the dignity of his personality and the way the theistic belief appears in him invest even the same beliefs in others with a value and an authority in excess of what they would otherwise deserve. Grant that what Jesus says of God has no more intrinsic truth than what Moses, or Jeremiah, or Confucius, or Plato had said of him; still by so much as the valuation of his person is higher than theirs, by so much will the weight of the influence of what he says be greater than theirs. The origin of a belief may not be due to Jesus, but its power, its creativeness, its historic fruitfulness, may be seen, after varying fortune, to depend ultimately on him alone. Therefore, in estimating the influence of Jesus' thought of God, it is not enough to ask: "Did he say anything new? May it not be derived from what has gone before? Would it not be more accurate to say that it is only 'relatively' new?" To be sure, there have been

mediations and developments; to be sure, one torch kindles another, one prophet awakens another, even the Great Prophet; but how does it come that a helpful insight, a saving thought, is loosely inherited from one generation to another, like a dead stone, till some strong personality seizes it and strikes fire from it? So, for centuries, a great and blessed thought of God, message of a Jonah or a Jeremiah, had fallen unappreciated and impotent, until that thought attained full fruition in the soul of Jesus.

Again, the judgment which one forms of the influence of Jesus upon the doctrine of God will depend upon the service which one seeks from Jesus' teachings on the subject; that is, on whether one avails himself of them for the satisfaction of the religious or the philosophic impulse. It is certain that Jesus' belief is moral-religious, not speculative. It is certain that it is grounded in perfect communion with God, and in the experience of the benefits received from God, and not in an analysis of the ontological essence of God. And it is certain that it is couched in symbols—King, Father—appropriate to the heart and will, not in concepts—Infinite, Absolute, World-Ground, First Cause—intended for the speculative understanding. Jesus attempted no proof of the existence of God. He needed none; nor did he seem to think that proof was needed for anybody else. He constructed no definition of God. He aspired to no psychology of the divine mind. Of the interior mechanism of Deity he had nothing whatever to say. His interest in his heavenly Father was wholly practical. Wordsworth speaks of those who could "botanize on their mother's grave." There was nothing of that in Jesus. And he who desiderates, as the principle of valuation, a contribution to the metaphysical speculation concerning the structure of Deity will turn away from Jesus' thoughts as of no epoch-making importance. For Jesus proclaimed no school-doctrine concerning God and divine things, as the wise of this world are wont to do, but simply gave testimony to the self-experienced secret of the fatherly goodness and love.

But, more definitely, what did he do? He brought forth out

of his treasures both new and old. For his time and people, he replaced the supramundane Taskmaster, jealous of his honor and exacting service, by the giving God, the heavenly Father, generous and magnanimous, devoted to the service of others—clothing lilies, watching sparrows, numbering the hairs of his children's heads, making their carking anxiety about food and raiment unbelief and impiety. He overleaped the pharisaic centuries, linked on to the prophets, and restored the continuity of revelation again. He did more. He changed the center of Old Testament conception from the kingliness to the fatherliness of God, and gave to each a deeper, a richer, a fuller content. He unified the pre-exilic inframundane and the post-exilic supramundane conceptions of God. In a word, to Jesus is to be attributed the merit of the rectification and the enrichment of the two historic conceptions of God as king and as father. The balance had never been properly adjusted. In pre-Christian history, now God was king to the injury of his fatherliness, then you have rigorism in morality and deism in religion or philosophy; now God was father to the injury of his kingliness, then you have eudemonism or naturalism in morality and pantheism in religion or philosophy. For Jesus, God is both immanent and transcendent; in the world, the life and joy and comfort of his people; above the world, their sovereign and strength and ideal. And the Father within and the King above are one God, whose peculiar apostolic name is "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ"—the name by which God desires men to know him evermore.

3. Turning now, in conclusion, from pre-Christian to subsequent history, what influence did Jesus exercise in the formation of the ecclesiastical conception of God? The credal statement, which has persisted in orthodoxy to this day, was formed in the patristic age, and is given in its finished statement in the so-called Athanasian creed,[5] a part of which must be transcribed here: "We worship one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity; neither confounding the Persons nor dividing the Substance. For there is one Person of the Father, another of the

[5] *Symbolum Quicunque.*

Son, and another of the Holy Ghost. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Gost is all one; the Glory equal, the Majesty coeternal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost. The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate. The Father unlimited, the Son unlimited, and the Holy Ghost unlimited. The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal. And yet they are not three eternals, but one eternal. So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God. And yet they are not three Gods, but one God. [So as to 'Lord.'] *For, like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by himself to be God and Lord, so are we forbidden to say . . . . there are three Gods or three Lords.*[6] The Father is made of none, neither created nor begotten; the Son of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten; the Holy Spirit is of the Father and of the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding. . . . . He, therefore, that will be saved, let him thus think of the Trinity."[7]

Though this creed be in profound contrast to the filial, reverent, religious, practical spirit and faith of Jesus, it has remained the ecclesiastical formula to the present. It would be easy to point out its manifold combinations of insoluble contradictions. But that would be a task at once thankless and painful. It would be much easier and pleasanter to show the providence of God in its formation, because the church needed to incase her faith, the most tender and delicate and easily wounded possession of the spirit of man, in a hard, rigid, thick shell, as she passed into the storm and stress of that wild world of the dark ages—a shell, a dogma, which, like everything else, human or divine, must fall into the ground and die, decompose in the soil of our modern thought, if it would bring forth much fruit, Easy, I say, as it would be either to criticise or to praise, I do neither at

[6] *Italics* mine. "Quia sicut singulatim unamquamque personam Deum ac Dominum confiteri, christiana veritate compellimur: ita tres deos, aut [tres] dominos dicere . . . . prohibemur."

[7] "Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat."

this time, but turn to a most brief account of the genesis of the dogma and to a statement of the effect that the rediscovery of Jesus by modern historical study is destined to have upon it.

The fathers of the Gentile-Christian church believed that they found in philosophers and poets the same knowledge of God, though in less perfect forms, which the Christian possessed on the basis of revelation. Even what they appropriated from the Scriptures they adapted to their philosophic form of knowledge. But in the evolution of Greek thought this form came to have a content of religion and morality strangely like that of the Christianity of the time. There is always an inner connection between the piety of an age and its conception of God. What was that piety? Its chief characteristic was world-flight. The world was evil. The body was also evil, and the prison and tempter of the soul. Life in the world was vanity. In what, then, did blessedness consist? In participation, through asceticism, and the super-rational faculty of ecstasy, in the Being of God. But what, then, must God be, to correspond to this? Before everything else, just not-world. He must be in abstract opposition to the world. He must exist in eternal and imperturbable repose, unrelated to the world, careless of the fitful fever of life. This the transcendent concept of God of the Platonic-Aristotelian philosophy entered on the wings of this piety into church and theology. God is the one exalted above the world, nay above Being itself, the limitless, the undetermined, the absolutely simple One, a being of abstract colorlessness.

That is the one moment in their thought of God. But there is another moment, the opposite of this, viz., God's positive relation to the world. This is required by Christian faith, which recognizes in God the Almighty Lord and Ruler of the world and of history, the founder and protector of the moral order of the world. As such he is a spiritual being, in the world, thinking and feeling and willing.

Now these are the two thoughts which are decisive for the conception of God in ecclesiastical theology. God is absolutely limitless Being; God is the spiritual founder and disposer of the

natural and moral world. But these two thoughts are disparate. No inner unity exists, nor was ever tried to be shown to exist, between them. What was done? Ecclesiastical theology mediated between the two through using the Logos-speculation. The Logos is the middle-being between God and the world. More definitely, the Logos is, on the one hand, the divine Reason, ruling in the world, which corresponds to the Stoic tradition, and, on the other hand, the ideal world posited in God, the content of the ideas, which is to be referred to Platonic influence. In the Logos, God is with the world, and the world is with God. Thus the Logos is the mediator of the creation, and the mediator of the revelation of God, especially of the revelation of God in Christ Jesus. First it was the question of cosmology which engaged speculation. Tertullian taught that the Logos proceeded from God, as a personal being, for the purpose of creating the world. That he was the subject of incarnation was at first a less important thought. Then this state of the case was reversed. Inasmuch as Origen taught the eternal generation of the Son or Logos, through the Father, he was permitted to issue forth no more for purposes of creation of the world, but to subsist eternally in God; and thus the original relation between Logos-thought and the world-thought was loosened. Athanasius took the last step in this connection; the Logos-thought swallowed up the world-thought, and the Logos was treated as the subject of the incarnation. For Athanasius will no longer hear of the Logos as being of necessity a middle-being between God and the world, mediating between the two. He is, according to his doctrine, of the same substance with the Father, so there was a relation of the one, just as little as of the other, to the world, if such a relation be excluded for the eternal God. Thus the Logos-thought was received into the connection of the Christian faith, and the essential feature of the ecclesiastical trinity is its affirmation of the *eternal deity of the Logos*, with whom Jesus was identified. The problem was this: Christians were monotheists by tradition and conviction; Jesus, accepted as Logos and worshiped as the Son, gave rise to the question, Were Christians to have one God or two? The problem was to

keep their monotheism and worship Jesus as God. After centuries of controversy, Jesus as Logos was included in the Godhead, from which the deity of the Spirit easily followed. The creed did not solve the difficulty of monotheism on the one hand and the deity of Jesus on the other, but rather carried the difficully up into the region of mystery, and hid it behind the obscure and self-contradictory phrase of the eternal generation of the Son. Thus, as to the thought of God, the message of Galilee receded behind the message of Greece, the gospel of the heavenly Father of Jesus Christ behind the speculation of the trinitarian substance of the ecclesiastics, and the practical approach to God behind the contemplative.

And the rediscovery of the Jesus of history? The new study of his evangel? It begins in principle with the Reformation. Patristic and scholastic Christianity unconditionally exalted the theoretical life, the contemplative life above the practical, active, moral life. To their ideal of life, as always, their conception of God corresponded. Therefore God was thinking substance. But, as against this view, the Christian principle of the Reformation maintains — and with full right — that simple, moral obedience is of more worth to man in drawing near to God than is the speculative or contemplative process. Therefore, according to this new ideal of life, primacy is accorded to moral will, as in man, so in God, and not to thought. Herein is, at bottom, the epochmaking importance of the Reformation. It replaced the old conception — a heritage of Greek philosophy — according to which God is fundamentally substance and that substance thought thinking about itself, with the conception of God as fundamentally the supreme energy of the personal will of love. But the Reformation was a return to Paul, and a return to Paul is, on the whole, a return to Christ. The result is in many ways a richer and fuller doctrine of God. For a thousand years the true relation between the kingliness and fatherliness of God had been obscured — an obscuration traceable to Roman imperialism. Once again fatherliness, as the most godlike thing in God, was to shine forth as the sun. For a thousand years God was not believed to be in the world, nor the world in God. Once again

is he to be recognized in nature and history, "the center and soul of every sphere," and "the Fountain Light of all our day," "the Master Light of all our seeing." For a thousand years thought speculated about the metaphysical substance of Deity; once again the moral character of God is to enjoy its supremacy. Not what God is in himself, but what God is for us, is the great concern. A moral God, morally revealed by Jesus Christ to the moral nature of man — it is the return to this conception, yet with an effort to retain the element of truth in the other, a conception, moreover, to which the future belongs, that the modern world owes ultimately to the Nazarene.

EXPOSITORY PREACHING.

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II.[1]

We do not claim that expository preaching is the only method of preaching, or even that it is the best method; but that it is *a* method which the ministry of today cannot afford to neglect. "The best way to preach is to preach every way." Yet American seminaries have usually set before their students a single ideal—propositional, scholastic, logical, but monotonous and pedantic. Now we are awaking to the fact that preaching may be as multiform and resourceful as the life it addresses, or the recorded life of primitive Christianity. Many congregations have become weary of "skeletons" in the pulpit. They are tired of hearing a "proposition," of following its "proof," and awaiting the foregone "conclusion." Stiffness and inflexibility in the pulpit have emptied the pews, homiletic exercises have proved a poor substitute for prophecy, and while the operation has been ingenious, the patient has often died under it.

The preachers themselves are weary of bondage to ancestral forms. They realize that their sermons are often not growths from within, but are external and mechanical constructions. They have been cunning cabinetmakers, polishers of paragraphs, substituting carpentry for inspiration. They are tired of struggling after ingenuities. Conscious of the growing aversion of the people to mere propositions, they have sought to dress out the thought with illustration, have "surveyed mankind from China to Peru" in their despairing hunt for incidents, while all the time tragedy and comedy, epic and lyric and vision, have lain close at hand in the neglected Bible. Many a preacher knows that he is not enriched by his own production. He is

[1] See the Biblical World, February, pp. 81–90.

always getting ready for next Sunday, but never getting deeper into truth. His method is superficial rather than artesian. He has become, as the Athenians disdainfully called Paul, "*spermologos*," "a picker up of learning's crumbs."

One remedy for these troubles is surely to be found in giving larger place to biblical exposition. We hardly need to remind ourselves that this was the method of the earliest heralds of the Christian faith. It was the method of Jesus as he first preached in the synagogue at Nazareth, as he habitually referred his hearers for the solution of every perplexity to the Old Testament writings, as on the way to Emmaus he expounded in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself. We see this method used by Peter at Pentecost, as he expounded the vision of Joel; by Stephen when he made an epitome of Israel's history his only *apologia*, and by Paul, whose sermon at Antioch was an Old Testament study, and whose favorite argument was to "show by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ." Biblical exposition was the foundation of the preaching of Chrysostom and Augustine, and was the accepted method of Christendom until the rise of the scholastic philosophy, combined with the *dicta* of pagan rhetoric, erected a new ideal.

But the recent development of biblical theology has opened to the preacher a genuine Golconda. No longer is the Bible a Chinese picture without perspective or *chiaroscuro*. It is seen to include every form of literature, to show us the unfolding of institutions and ideas from their first crude foreshadowing up to their culmination in the gospels and epistles; and in tracing that unfolding the preacher finds an endless task and an exhaustless inspiration. Biblical theology neither defends nor attacks systematic theology, being interested, not in fixing the final forms of truth, but in showing how those forms were evolved under the tuition of the Spirit. Systematic theology may be built on proof-texts "as Venice and Amsterdam are built on piles." Biblical theology cares less for text than for context, aiming not at demonstration, but at appreciation. The preacher who will absorb some work written from the historical point of view, like Schultz' *Old Testament Theology* or McGiffert's *Apostolic Age*, will

find that old threadbare narratives shine in a new setting, and a thousand passages become like Aaron's rod that budded when laid up before the Lord. He will straightway become ashamed of acrobatic performances on single "texts," and long to expound historical movements, divine unfoldings, to show the spirit behind the letter, the Christ within the Bible. This method of preaching is at once the hardest and the easiest: the hardest, because only earnest study will enable a man thus to grasp a period in the revelation; the easiest because, when such study has been given, sermons drop from it as easily as ripe fruit from full boughs.[2] Such a preacher finds at the end of the year that he has not only fed his people, but found access to inexhaustible supplies. He is planted by the rivers of water; he has found subterranean foothold and rootage, and each year adds new rings to his girth and new diameters to his shadow.

Why, then, is so much expository preaching a weariness to the flesh? Why is it disdained by many as mere "prayer-meeting talk," and why does it so often become disjointed, incoherent, and confusing?

1. The failure is often in the selection of materials. Amid all the incidents in the narrative (if it be a narrative we are expounding) we must find the few things—or, perhaps, the one thing—supremely important for the sermon, and rigidly exclude all that is irrelevant to our purpose. To expound everything in the story is to expound nothing. We must deliberately side-track many trains of thought and keep the main line open to our one great message. We must beware of minuteness, pedantry, subtlety; beware of losing the forest in the trees. The preacher must find his theme and sternly ignore considerations and excursions which are entirely proper when he sits in his study, but impertinent and disastrous when he stands forth as prophet. He must have courage to pass *irretorto oculo* a thousand nooks and corners which would be pleasant enough for a summer stroll, but only impede one who is pressing to a goal. He must organize his thought, group his materials, study the passage or period

[2] Perhaps the best example of modern expository preaching is in G. A. SMITH's volumes on Isaiah—composed entirely of sermons preached in his early pastorate.

in question until the essential theme emerges, distinct and luminous,

> " . . . as from the dim and tumbling sea
> Starts the completed moon."

In Robertson's "Third Advent Lecture" we have an admirable example of genuine exposition. The text is Acts 28 : 1–7 :

And when they were escaped, then they knew that the island was called Melita. And the barbarous people showed us no little kindness: for they kindled a fire and received us everyone, because of the present rain and because of the cold. And when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks and laid them on the fire, there came a viper out of the heat and fastened on his hand. And when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand, they said among themselves, no doubt this man is a murderer, whom though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live. And he shook off the beast into the fire and felt no harm. Howbeit they looked when he should have swollen, or fallen down dead suddenly: but after they had looked a great while, and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and said that he was a god.

Now on this passage the running commentary, of the Matthew Henry style, would doubtless tell us that from the words "showed us no little kindness" we may learn the duty of kindly deeds; from the gathering of the "bundle of sticks" we may learn the nobility of industry, and from the coming of the "viper out of the heat" we may learn the danger of summer temptations. But let no such random "improvements" assume to be Christian preaching. Robertson at a bound leaps into the center of the story, ignoring most of the incidents, and seizing the essential teaching, when he says: "We make three points: I, barbarian virtues; II, barbarian idea of retribution; III, barbarian conception of deity."

That is preaching! It has learned to leave nine-tenths of the narrative in shadow in order to throw the central truth into high relief.

2. The failure is frequently due to the lack of any definite object in the sermon. The discourse is not focused on anything in particular. The preacher, instead of planting one smooth stone in the Philistine's forehead, contents himself with a

scattering discharge of loose gravel, and the enemy is cheerfully serene. Exposition which is not aimed at some target is nebulous and non-effective. The highest virtue of expository preaching is not to be beautiful or complete, or historically sound or geographically accurate, but to work a moral change in the congregation. No lecture on fishes ever caught a fish. The only good sermon is a sermon good for something. The difference between Hosea's tragic message and Keats' "Ode to a Grecian Urn" is the palpable difference between a prophecy and a work of art. To Keats "beauty is its own excuse for being;" the idea of an end in view is grossly utilitarian. But Hosea is seeking lost souls, and his message throbs with the passion and agony of a redemptive pity that is stronger than sin and shame and death.

3. The preacher may fail to fuse his materials in the fires of the historic imagination. To the poetic eye the dullest details become suggestive, and the most prosaic narrative gleams with light. When Shelley hears the skylark, his imagination takes fire:

> In the golden lightening
> Of the sunken sun,
> O'er which clouds are brightening,
> Thou dost float and run
> Like an unbodied joy, whose race is just begun.

The curator of a museum might see in the same songster only a "feathered biped with a spotted tail." The curator has his place—but not in the poet's chair or the preacher's pulpit! One of the best preachers of the last generation was accustomed to describe at length Paul's journey from Jerusalem to Damascus, pointing out the various villages, streams, and hills that the apostle must have passed on that fateful journey. But the preacher had so studied the country which the apostle traversed that what might have been a dry catalogue became a glowing résumé of Israel's history, leading up to a magnificent climax in the apparition of the risen Lord. Expository preaching of this kind affords unparalleled opportunity for oratorial climax. It gives full play to word-painting, if the painter cares to attempt

that; it is sensitive to the beauty of the lily and the cloud; it echoes to the march of great events, throbs with all the passion of the ages, shares the glory and the gloom of humanity; and the pettiness and poverty of the preacher must vanish in expounding the thoughts of God.

4. The preacher will surely fail if he neglects constantly to translate the biblical thought into modern terms and apply it to the burning questions of the day. After all, the study of antiquity is useless unless we find in it direction for today. To make biblical scholars is one thing, to make biblical character in the nineteenth century is another thing. The sermon belongs not to the literature of knowledge, but the literature of power. "These things are written . . . . that ye might have life." The communication of life is the preacher's task. Goodness does not consist in reading how other men were good, but in achieving something now and here. "The real prostitution of the prophets of the Old Testament is in confining them to academic uses." The call of Amos is the call which comes to many a country lad today; the vices of Solomon's day are the vices of London and New York; the betrayal of Christ is a present daily tragedy, and the new Acts of the Apostles is now being written. He who realizes that the God within the Bible is the God within our own perplexed life, individual, social, national, and dares to apply the visions of the old time to the problems of the new, is in the true apostolic succession, and holds the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

WILLIAM F. MOULTON.

Rev. William Fiddian Moulton, A.M., D.D., whose recent death at Cambridge, England, is a loss to New Testament scholarship felt throughout the English-speaking world, was a noble representative of a most noble type of Christian scholarship — that which combines thoroughness of scientific research with a most human interest in men and unselfish devotion to their service. He was born in 1835 at Leek in Staffordshire. His grandfather, and his father, were ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist church, as were also an uncle and a younger brother. He himself, after receiving his A.B. degree at the age of eighteen and his A.M. at the age of twenty-one, both from the London University — non-conformists were not then admitted to Cambridge or Oxford — and both accompanied by special honors in mathematics, devoted himself to theological studies, here also winning prizes from the London University, in Hebrew, Greek, and biblical criticism. He entered upon the work of teaching in 1854, first as master at Queen's College, Taunton; in 1858 he became classical tutor in the Wesleyan Theological College, Richmond, and in 1874 was made head master of the Leys School at Cambridge, then just founded. This position he held till his death. In 1874 the University of Edinburgh gave him the degree of D.D., and in 1877 the University of Cambridge conferred on him the honorary degree of M.A.

WILLIAM F. MOULTON

In Cambridge doubtless, and quite possibly among Wesleyans throughout England, he was best known as the head of Leys School, and so important is the work of the master of such a school, and so admirably was Dr. Moulton adapted to this posi-

tion, that his work here, wrought into the lives of his pupils, may very well have been made the most important and most permanent that he accomplished. But on this side the water Dr. Moulton was chiefly known by his published books. It was while he was classical tutor at Richmond, in 1870, that he published his translation of Winer's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, which, however, was so enriched by his own notes as to be practically a new work. It is by these notes quite as much as by the original material that the book has held its place in the esteem of scholars. In the same year he was elected a member of the New Testament Revision Company, being but thirty-five years old, and its youngest member. In 1878 he published a history of the Bible, and in 1879 joined with Dr. Milligan in issuing a commentary on the gospel of John, published first in the Popular Commentary, and then in the International Revision Commentary edited by Dr. Schaff. He also wrote on the epistle to the Hebrews in Bishop Ellicott's Commentary for Schools. Dr. Moulton shared with Bishop Westcott and Dr. Hort the task of preparing for the recently issued revised version of the apocrypha the translation of 2 Maccabees and the book of Wisdom. The weekly sessions of the committee held in Dr. Moulton's study continued the delightful associations already begun in the larger committee. Less than a year ago, the Moulton and Geden concordance of the New Testament, to the production of which he had contributed counsel and some still more practical assistance, appeared from the press. There is even now on the press an edition of the Revised New Testament, with marginal references, in the preparation of which Dr. Moulton had been engaged for many years. Other tasks which he had planned, or which others had thrust upon him, must be left unaccomplished, or to be taken up by other hands. Notable among these was the preparation of a New Testament grammar, which was to be, not an edition of Winer, but an independent work. For the prosecution of this important and needed work, for which Dr. Moulton was so admirably prepared, he had associated with himself his son, Rev. James H. Moulton, and Rev. Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy. The Cambridge Uni-

versity Press has it arranged that they will go forward with the enterprise, though deprived by death of the leadership of the older scholar.

Those who knew Dr. Moulton personally bear testimony to the beauty and strength of his Christian character. As a preacher he is said to have been mainly expository, "combining depth and simplicity with an absence of art, carried even to a fault." The success of his pupils in Leys School attests the excellence of his work as a teacher and master. We who have used and are using his books can testify to his scholarship, and record our gratitude for his faithful and thorough work. E. D. B.

AN OUTLINE OF THE LIFE OF JESUS.

WITH REFERENCES FOR READING.

By SHAILER MATHEWS,
The University of Chicago.

GENERAL WORKS.

ANTHONY, *Introduction to the Life of Jesus;* ANDREWS, *The Life of Our Lord;* GILBERT, *The Students' Life of Jesus;* STALKER, *The Life of Christ;* EDERSHEIM, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah;* FARRAR, *The Life of Christ;* WEISS, *The Life of Christ;* BEYSCHLAG, *Das Leben Jesu;* BALDENSPERGER, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu;* WENDT, *The Teaching of Jesus; Die Lehre Jesu*, Vol. 1; *Dictionary of the Bible* (rev. Eng. ed.), Gospels; RUSHBROOKE, *Synopticon;* ABBOT and RUSHBROOKE, *The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels;* WRIGHT, *Synopsis of the Synoptic Gospels;* RIDDLE–ROBINSON, *Harmony of the Gospels in Greek;* STEVENS and BURTON, *A Harmony of the Gospels for Historical Study;* HUCK, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien;* WIESELER, *Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels;* CASPARI, *Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ;* HOLTZMANN, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 118–27.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. I. MODERN HYPOTHESES AS TO JESUS.

UHLHORN, *Modern Representations of the Life of Jesus*, chaps. i, ii; FAIRBAIRN, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, 230–97; HARNACK, *Christianity and History.*

1. The views of Strauss. 2. Of Baur. 3. Of Renan. 4. Of Keim. 5. The new confidence in him and his character.

§ 2. II. THE OLDEST DATA FOR HIS BIOGRAPHY.

ANTHONY, chaps. ii, iii, ix, x, xvi; FARRAR, *History of Interpretation*, 413–37; FAIRBAIRN, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, 334–46.

1. Christianity under Trajan and Nero. 2. The Apostolic Fathers. 3. The Johannine literature. 4. Late canonical writings. 5. The synoptic gospels. 6. The letters of Paul. 7. The sources of the synoptic gospels.

§ 3. III. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF JESUS.

1. The date of his birth.

GILBERT, chap. 2; ANDREWS, 1–35, 72–82; SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. II, 105–43; ZUMPT, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi;* WIESELER, 33–150; HUSCHKE, *Census;* STEINMEYER, *Geburt des Herrn.*

a) The death of Herod I; *b*) the star of the magi; *c*) the census of Quirinius; *d*) the fifteenth year of Tiberius and Luke 3 : 23; *e*) John 2 : 20; *f*) other possible data; *g*) the probable results.

2. The date of his death.

ANDREWS, 35–51; WIESELER, 324–75; SALMON, *Introduction to the New Testament,* 245–57; WRIGHT, BIBLICAL WORLD, II.

a) The problem and its significance; *b*) reasons why the crucifixion could not have occurred on the day of the Passover; *c*) contrary arguments; *d*) probable results.

3. The length of his public ministry.

GILBERT, chap. v.

a) The reason for conflicting views; *b*) the various arrangement; (quadri-, tri-, bipaschal) and their grounds; *c*) the office of criticism; *d*) the two tenable positions; *e*) the relation of the chronology to the order of events; *f*) principal periods in the ministry of Jesus.

§ 4. IV. THE CHIEF PURPOSE IN THE STUDY OF THE LIFE OF JESUS.

1. The place of Jesus in religion. 2. The problem of the historical and the spiritual Christ. 3. The limitations and possibilities of biography. 4. The discovery of the personality of Jesus as a revelation of God through humanity.

NOTE.

References printed in **bold-face** type represent more or less accurately original sources. No attempt is made to indicate the relative value or age of sources thus represented.

References printed in roman type represent material derived from the sources in bold-face type on the same line.

The sign + indicates that important material from an independent source has been added to material obtained from the source printed in bold-face type on the same line.

PART I.

THE EARLY YEARS OF JESUS.

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 5. I. HIS BIRTH AND INFANCY. Weiss, I, 247–62.			1:26–38	
1. The criticism of the data.	1:18–2:23		2:1–39	
2. The miraculous birth and early Christianity.				1:1–18
3. The miraculous birth and a doctrine of the incarnation.				
§ 6. II. THE THIRTY YEARS IN NAZARETH. Stapfer, *Jesus Christ before his Ministry*, chaps. i, iv, v; Brough, *The Early Life of Our Lord*, chaps. ii–v, xi; Edersheim, I, 217–34.				
1. The city and its inhabitants.				1:46
2. The family and social position of Jesus.	1:1–17		3:23–38	
3. His probable education.				
4. His occupation.	13:54-56	6:2, 3	4:20–22	
5. Visits to Jerusalem.			2:39–52	
§ 7. III. HIS SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THESE YEARS. Stapfer, chaps. viii-x; Edersheim, I, 235-54; Weiss, I, 275–306.				
1. Positive data and *a priori* conjectures.				
2. His study of the Scriptures.				
3. His religious environment.				
4. His consciousness of Sonship.			2:49, 52	
5. His unconsciousness of his Messianic mission.				

PART II.

THE BEGINNING OF THE PUBLIC MINISTRY OF JESUS.

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 8. I. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Feather, *The Last of the Prophets;* Edersheim, I, 255–74; Weiss, I, 307–16; *Ecce Homo*, chap. i.				
1. His early years.			1:5–25 39–80	
2. His personality.	11:7–14		7:24–34	
3. His message and mission.	3:1–12	1:1-8	3:1–18	
4. His success.	17:9–13	9:11–13		1:19–28

PART II.—*Continued.*

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 9. II. THE BAPTISM OF JESUS. Bruce, "The Baptism of Jesus," *Expositor*, 1898; Edersheim, I, 275-86; Weiss, I, 317-36.				
1. The coming of Jesus to John.	3:13–17+	1:9–11	3:21–22	
2. His motive.				
3. Was Jesus a disciple of John?				
4. The baptism and the completed self-consciousness.				
§ 9. III. THE TEMPTATION OF JESUS. Edersheim, I, 291–307; Weiss, I, 337–53; Phelps, *The Story of Jesus Christ*, 77–91; *Ecce Homo*, chap. ii.				
1. As a result of the new self-consciousness.		1:12–13		
2. Its nature.	4:1–11		4:1–13	
3. Its significance in the life of Jesus.				
§ 10. IV. THE BEGINNING OF THE MESSIANIC CAREER. Edersheim, I, 336–50; Weiss, I, 355-76.				
1. The testimony of John.				1:29–34
2. The first disciples.				1:35–51
3. The character in which Jesus first presented himself.				
§ 11. V. THE MINISTRY IN JUDEA. Edersheim, I, 351-89; Weiss, I, 377-86; II, 26-31.				
1. The visit to Galilee.				2:1–12
2. ? Cleansing of the Temple.				2:13–22
3. ? The conversation with Nicodemus.				2:23—3:21
4. The baptismal ministry at Aenon.				3:22
5. The general character of this early ministry less Messianic than preparatory.	23:37-39		13:34,35	
6. The departure for Galilee and its cause.				3:23–4:2
§ 12. VI. JESUS IN SAMARIA. Edersheim, I, 404-21; Weiss, II, 32–43.				
1. Jacob's Well.				
2. The conversation with the Samaritan woman.				4:4–38
3. The results of his ministry in Sychar.				4:39–43
4. The significance of his self-characterization.				4:26
§ 13. VII. THE ARRIVAL IN GALILEE.				
1. The return of the disciples to their vocations.				
2. The probable life of Jesus.	4:18	1:16		
3. Was the early ministry a failure?				

PART III.

THE GALILEAN MINISTRY.

FIRST PERIOD: TILL THE CHOICE OF THE TWELVE.

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 14. I. THE NEW BEGINNING IN GALILEE. EDERSHEIM, I, 422–9, 451–9; WEISS, II, 44–53.				
1. Its occasion.	4:12	1:14		
2. The first preaching.	4:17	1:15		
3. The new miracles.			4:14, 15	
4. The new home.	4:13–16*e*		4:31	4:46–54
§ 15. II. THE INAUGURATION OF THE KINGDOM. EDERSHEIM, I, 472–7; WEISS, II, 53–9; FAIRBAIRN, *Studies in the Life of Christ*, chap. viii.				
1. The kingdom of God as expected by the Jews.				
2. The kingdom as preached by Jesus during this portion of his ministry.				
3. The first community.	4:18–22	1:16–20	5:1–11	
4. The "gospel of the kingdom."	4:23	1:35–45	4:42–44	
§ 16. III. JESUS' ESTIMATE OF HIMSELF AND HIS MISSION. EDERSHEIM, I, 507–23.				
1. "The Son of Man."				
2. His superiority to traditionalism as illustrated in fasting.	9:14–17	2:18–22	5:33–38	
3. His attitude toward publicans and sinners.	9:9–13 11:18, 19	2:13–17	5:27–32 7:32–50	
4. His method that of a growing revelation of himself and his mission.				16:12
§ 17. THE IMPRESSION MADE BY JESUS. EDERSHEIM, I, 478–506; WEISS, II, 60–88.				
1. The effect of his miracles.	8:14–16	1:21–34	4:31–41	
2. The position accorded him by the people, the disciples of John, and the Pharisees.	8:1–4 9:2–8	1:35–45 2:1–12	5:12–16 5:17–26	
3. Increase in his popularity and his following.	4:23–25	3:7–12	6:17–19	

SECOND PERIOD: TILL THE WITHDRAWAL TO THE NORTH.

§ 18. I. THE CHOICE OF THE TWELVE. WEISS, II, 258–75; GILBERT, 206–11.	9:36–38		10:2	
1. The need of a group of special disciples.	10:2–4	3:13–19	6:12–16	
2. The character of the men.				
3. Were they organized?				

PART III.—*Continued.*

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 18. 4. The limitations of the body in relation to the kingdom.				
§ 19. II. THE EVANGELIZATION OF GALILEE. EDERSHEIM, I, 542–60; WEISS, II, 306–21.				
1. Its extent.	8:5		7:1	
			7:11	
	9:35	6:6		
2. Its method and its message.			8:1	
3. The training and mission of the Twelve	10:1, 10–14	6:7–13	9:1–6	
	10:5–9, 15–42 +		(10:1–16)	
4. Ever-increasing popularity.	14:13-23	6:30–46	9:10–17	
				6:1–15
5. The financial status of the new community.			8:1–3	13:29
	19:17 20		9:57–58	
§ 20. III. THE TEACHING OF THE PERIOD. EDERSHEIM, I, 524–41; WEISS, II, 139–62, 203–16; *Ecce Homo*, chaps. iii, ix, xiv; MATHEWS, "On the Interpretation of Parables," *Am. Jour. of Theol.*, April, 1898; *Social Teaching of Jesus*, chap. iii.				
1. The place of teaching in the work of Jesus.				
2. Ethical teaching: the "Sermon on the Mount."	5:1–8: 1 +		6:20–49	
			11:1–13	
			12:22-31	
			13:22-34	
a. Its literary unity and purpose.				
b. Its main topics.				
c. Its relation to the other teaching of Jesus.				
d. Not the gospel.				
3. Social teaching: the kingdom of God.	13:1–54 +	4:1–34	8:4–18	
a. The beginning of parabolic teaching.				
b. The content of the term "kingdom of God."				
c. The kingdom as a center of thought and teaching.				
4. Religious teaching: the bread of life.				6:22–59
a. The historical setting.				
b. The figure or parable.				
c. The interpretation.				
5. The personality of Jesus as the content of his teaching.				

PART III.—*Continued.*

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 21. IV. MIRACLES AND THE KINGDOM. Weiss, II, 174–88; Gilbert, 192–206; Abbott, *The Theology of an Evolutionist*, chaps. ix, x.				
1. Those of healing.	8:5–13		7:1–10	
	8:28–34	5:1–20	8:26–39	
	9:27–34			
2. Raising the dead.			7:11	
	9:18–26	5:21–43	8:40–56	
3. Those over nature.	8:23–37	4:35–41	8:22–25	
	14:24–33+	6:47–52		
				6:16–21
4. The miracles as related to the personality of Jesus.		5:30	8:46	
5. The evidential value of the miracles.	14:34–36	6:53–56		
				6:14
	11:20–23		10:13–15	
				5:36
				10:38
				14:10, 11
§ 22. V. THE GROWING MESSIANIC REVELATION. Edersheim, I, 654–75, II, 25–36; Weiss, II, 189–202, 388–403; Baldensperger, chap. ix.				
1. The question of John the Baptist and its answer.	11:2–19		7:18–35	
2. Jesus' rejection by his fellow-citizens, the misjudgment of his family, his true kinsfolk.	12:54–58	6:1–6		
			4:16–30	
	12:46	3:20, 21		
	12:47–50	3:31–35	8:19–21	
3. The words of the demonized.		3:11		
	8:29	5:7	8:28	
4. The readiness of the people to make Jesus the leader of revolution.	15:29-31	7:31–37		
	16:13, 14	8:27, 28		
				6:14, 15
5. The partial reaction among his disciples resulting from his new teaching.				6:60–66
6. The growing faith of the Twelve.				6:67–71
7. Was there an accompanying development in the consciousness of Jesus?				
§ 23. VI. THE GROWING HOSTILITY OF THE SCRIBES AND PHARISEES. Edersheim, II, 3–22, 51–62; Weiss, II, 289–305.				
1. The original attitude of the professional classes.	9:3	2:6, 7	5:21	
			7:3, 4, 36	

PART III.—*Continued.*

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 23. 2. The Sabbath question in Jerusalem.				5:1–8;
3. The effect of the popularity of Jesus.				9:1–41;
4. As to "clean and unclean."	15:1–20	7:1–23		10:19-21
5. The charge of the Pharisees and Jesus' warning against an eternal sin.	12:22–45	3:19–30	11:14–36	
6. The Sabbath controversy in Galilee.	12:1–8	2:23–28	6:1–5	
7. The resulting relations of Jesus and the religious leaders.	12:9–14	3:1–6	6:6–11	

THIRD PERIOD: TILL THE FINAL DEPARTURE FROM GALILEE.

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 24. I. THE LAST DAYS IN GALILEE. EDERSHEIM, II, 37–50; WEISS, III, 36–47.				
1. The journey north and the problem of the Gentiles.	15:21–28	7:24–30		
2. The popularity of Jesus at its height.	15:32–38	7:37–8:9		
3. The crisis and first encounter with the Pharisees.	15:39–16:12	8:10–21		
4. The new importance of the Twelve.				
5. The second journey north.	16:13	8:27		
§ 25. II. THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF MESSIAHSHIP. EDERSHEIM, II, 63–88; WEISS, III, 48–67; BALDENSPERGER, 280–82.				
1. The new step in the educational process through which the Twelve passed.				
2. The confession of Peter.	16:13–20+	8:27–30		
3. Its significance to Peter and to Jesus.				
4. The teaching it made possible and necessary.				
§ 26. III. THE NEW TRAINING OF THE TWELVE IN FAITH. EDERSHEIM, II, 91–109; WEISS, III. 68–79, 98–113; BRUCE, *The Training of the Twelve*, chap. xii; SCHWARTZKOPFF, *The Prophecies of Jesus Christ*, chap. ii; BALDENSPERGER, chap. vi.				
1. The inevitable tragedy and the need of preparing the Twelve.	16:21–23	8:31–33	9:22	
2. The transfiguration.	17:1–8	9:2–8	9:28–36+	

PART III.—*Continued.*

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 26. 3. The new conception of Messiahship.	17:9–13 17:22–23 20:17–19	9:9–13 9:30–32 10:32–34	9:43–45 18:31–34	
4. The Messiah as a type of membership in the kingdom.	16:23–28 17:14–20 18:1–10 18:11–35+ 20:20–28	8:33–9:1 9:14–29 9:33–50 10:35–45	9:23–27 9:37–43 9:46–50	
§ 27. IV. IN JERUSALEM AT THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES. EDERSHEIM, II, 148–63; WEISS, III, 166–78.				
1. The attitude of Jesus toward danger. Death of John the Baptist.	14:1–12	6:14–29	13:31–35	
2. The events of the visit.				7:1–10
3. New teaching as to his Messianic mission.				7:10—9:41
4. The attitude of the people and Pharisees.				10:19-21
5. Unsuccessful attempts to arrest Jesus.				

PART IV.

THE LAST MONTHS OF THE MINISTRY.

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 28. I. THE FINAL DEPARTURE FROM GALILEE. EDERSHEIM, II, 126–34; WEISS, III, 144–53.				
1. The conditions under which Jesus left Galilee.	19:1, 2	10:1	9:51–55	
2. The regret of Jesus.	10:20–24		10:12–16	
3. The choice of routes.				
4. The structure of the section, Luke 9:51—18:14.				
§ 29. II. THE JOURNEY THROUGH PEREA. EDERSHEIM, II, 135–47, 308–26; WEISS, III, 202–13.				
1. The mission of the Seventy and the evangelization of Perea.	11:25–30+		10:1–11, 17–24	
2. The visit to Bethany and Jerusalem at the Feast of the Dedication.			10:38–42	10:27–29, 1–18, 30–42
3. The visit to Bethany and the raising of Lazarus.				11:1–46
4. The withdrawal to Ephraim.				11:47–54

PART IV.—*Continued.*

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 30. III. THE TEACHING OF THE PERIOD. EDERSHEIM, II, 188–203, 253–64.				
1. As to social duties, especially the right use of wealth.			10:25–37 10:38–42 12:13–21 16:1–31	
	19:16–30	10:17–31	18:18–30	
	19:3–12+	10:2–12		
2. The warnings against Pharisaism.			11:37–54 18:9–14 13:10–21	
3. The parables of grace.			13:1–9 15:1–32	
4. New aspects of the kingdom.			13:22–30 14:7–35 17:1–10	
5. Sacrifice and divine sonship.	19:13–15	10:13–16	18:15–17	10:1–18
6. The question of the Pharisees on the Messiahship of Jesus.				10:22–42
7. The self-consciousness of Jesus now revealed as the basis of faith.				
§ 31. IV. THE APPROACH TO JERUSALEM. EDERSHEIM, II, 327–53; WEISS, III, 214–23.			17:20–18:8	
1. Expectations, ambitions, and teaching concerning the coming kingdom.	20:1–28	10:32–45	18:31–34 19:11–28	
2. In Jericho.	20:29–34	10:46–52	18:35–43 19:1–10	
3. The arrival and feast in Bethany.	26:6–13	14:3–9		
4. Why did Jesus go to Jerusalem?				11:55–12:11

PART V.

THE LAST DAYS.

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 32. I. THE UNMISTAKABLE AND PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF MESSIAHSHIP. EDERSHEIM, II, 363–79; WEISS, III, 224–333.				
1. The approach of the supreme crisis.				

PART V.—*Continued.*

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 32. 2. The plan and preparations of Jesus.	21 : 1–5	11 : 1–6	19 : 29–34	
3. The triumphal entry into Jerusalem.	21 : 6–9	11 : 7–10	19 : 35–44	
4. The popular demonstration.				12 : 12–19
5. The cleansing of the temple.	21 : 12–17	11 : 15–19	19 : 45–48	2 : 13–17
§ 33. II. THE DAYS OF CONFLICT. Edersheim, II, 380–414; Weiss, III, 233–60.				
1. The effect of the cleansing of the temple.	21 : 23–27	11 : 27–33	20 : 1–8	
2. The attack upon Jewish prerogative.	21 : 28–32			2 : 18–
	21 : 33–46+	12 : 1–12	20 : 9–19	
	22 : 1–14+		14 : 15–24	
3. The determination of the religious leaders.				
4. The difficulties in the way of disposing of Jesus.				
5. The attempt to force Jesus into treason,			11 : 53. 54	
blasphemy, or disgrace.	22 : 15–40	12 : 13–34	20 : 20–40	
6. The discomfiture of his opponents.	22 : 41–46	12 : 35–37	20 : 41–44	
7. The attack upon Pharisaism and external religion.		12 : 38–40	20 : 45–47	
§ 34. III. THE LAST TEACHING AS TO THE KINGDOM. Edersheim, II, 431–67; Weiss, III, 260–70.	23 : 1–37+		11 : 37–52	
1. To those outside the Twelve.				
a. The continuance of the public ministry to the last.				
b. Jesus and the more open-minded scribes and lawyers.		12 : 28–34		2 : 23–3 : 21
c. As to generosity.		12 : 41–44	21 : 1–4	
d. As to his death as a means of victory.				12 : 20–36
2. To the Twelve.				
a. The miserable future of Jerusalem.	24 : 1–51+	13 : 1–37	21 : 5–38	
b. The triumph of the kingdom.				
c. The consequent duties of its members.				
d. The coming of the Son of Man.	25 : 1–46			
§ 35. I. THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST JESUS. Edersheim, II, 468–78; Weiss, III, 273–91.				
1. The failure of all plots against Jesus.	26 : 1–5	14 : 1, 2	22 : 1, 2	
2. The rôle of Judas.	26 : 14–16	14 : 10, 11	22 : 3–6	
3. The fatal plan.				

PART V.—*Continued.*

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 36. V. THE LAST SUPPER (Thursday evening). EDERSHEIM, II, 479–512; WEISS, III, 292–318.				
1. The preparations of Jesus.	26 : 17–20	14 : 12–17	22 : 7–13	
2. The Passover supper.				
3. The teaching and example of humility and service.			22 : 14–18, 24–30	13 : 1–20
4. The departure of Judas.	26 : 21–25	14 : 18–21	22 : 21–23	13 : 21–30
5. The institution of the memorial meal.	26 : 26–30	14 : 22–26	22 : 19, 20	
6. The forecast of desertion.	26 : 31–35	14 : 27–31	22 : 31–38	13 : 31–38
7. The supreme teaching as to himself, his mission, and divine Sonship.				14 : 1—17 : 26
§ 37. VI. IN GETHSEMANE (Friday morning). EDERSHEIM, II, 533–45; WEISS, III, 319–32.				
1. Agony and self-mastery.	26 : 36–46	14 : 32–42	22 : 39–46	
2. The arrest.	26 : 47–56	14 : 43–49	22 : 47–53	18 : 1–11
3. The flight of the disciples.		14 : 50–52		
§ 38. VII. THE TRIALS AND EXECUTION. EDERSHEIM, II, 546–620; WEISS, III, 333–81.				
1. The problem before the conspirators.				
2. The trial before the Jewish authorities.	26: 57—27 : 2	14 : 53–65	22 : 54, 63–71	18 : 12–14, 19–24
3. The trial before Pilate.	27 : 11–31	15 : 1–20	23 : 1–25	18:28—19 : 16
4. The doings of the disciples.	27 : 3–10	14 : 66–72	22 : 55–62	18:15–18, 25–27
5. The crucifixion.	27 : 32–44	15 : 21–32	23 : 26–43	19 : 16–30
6. The death.	27 : 45–56	15 : 33–41	23 : 44–49	19 : 28–37

PART V.—*Continued.*

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
§ 39. VIII. THE RESURRECTION. EDERSHEIM, II, 624–52; WEISS, III, 382–409; SCHWARTZKOPFF, chap. iii; FORREST, lect. iv.				
1. The burial of Jesus.	27 : 57–66+	15 : 42–47	23 : 50–56	19 : 38–42
2. The appearances of the Master.	28 : 1–15	16 : 1–11	23 : 56–24 : 12	20 : 1–18
			24 : 13–35	
			24 : 36–43	20 : 19–25
				20 : 26–29
				21 : 1–24
			24 : 44–53	
	28 : 16–20			
3. How shall they be estimated?				
4. The faith of the Twelve, of Paul, and of primitive Christianity.				
§ 40. THE JESUS OF HISTORY AND THE CHRIST OF FAITH. DALE, *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels;* FORREST, *The Christ of History and of Experience.*				
1. Christianity impossible without the historical Jesus.				
2. The estimate placed by Jesus on himself and his mission.				
3. "The Son of Man" and "Son of God."				
4. Jesus as the type of the kingdom, the mediator of God, and the heart of Christianity.				

ALEXANDER BIDA'S "THE LORD'S SUPPER."[1]

"THE Last Supper" is usually represented by the painters at the instant when Christ quietly and sadly makes the startling announcement, "And one of you shall betray me," or at that subsequent moment when, in the blessing and breaking of bread and the taking of the cup, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is instituted. Da Vinci's consummate picture is an illustration of the former treatment, and the frontispiece of the latter.

The first shock that followed Christ's announcement of the apostasy of one of their number has passed. Judas has departed, and now their hearts are agitated again as they recall their Master's mysterious reference to his separation from them, that he should not drink henceforth of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God shall come. This preceded the institution of the eucharist, and what follows is the moment seized upon by the artist for illustration.

Christ has risen from his seat and holds in both hands the round cake of unleavened bread. By a beautiful and significant symbolism, the group of disciples is lighted by the radiance that streams from the countenance and garments of their Lord. So steady and pure is its brilliancy that the shadows of the plates upon the table and the gesturing hand of one of the apostles are strongly defined.

At the left of Jesus John lifts a noble but troubled face to that of his beloved Lord. To the right sits Peter, who, with his hand pressed upon a heart filled with anxious forebodings, turns attentively to James, the brother of John. Christian art contains no finer conception of the foremost disciple, but one's interest in the picture centers in Christ and the chosen three placed nearest him.

Although knowing that before another twilight falls his enemies will spend upon him the fury of their murderous wrath and all friends forsake his side, the face of Jesus, bowed above the sacramental bread, reflects the inner calm of a great soul consecrated to a sublime purpose. Holding it in contemplation, one feels that the artist has attempted seriously to depict that indescribable mingling of majesty and tenderness which we ascribe to the countenance of Christ, named by Jerome the *Siderium quiddam*, that "starry something" which marked the King of Glory while on earth among men.

JOHN POWELL LENOX.

[1] See frontispiece.

SERMON OUTLINES.

2 Cor. 5 : 14–17 :

"For the love of Christ constraineth us ; because we thus judge, that one died for all, that they who live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto him who for their sakes died and rose again. Wherefore we henceforth know no man after the flesh : even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know him so no more. Wherefore if any man is in Christ, he is a new creature : the old things are passed away : behold, they are become new."

Introduction : Paul was a remarkable man. It was easy for his enemies to account for him as beside himself. *Cf.* the travels, dangers, persecutions, growing hostility of the Jews, and "false brethren" : yet there was no abatement of zeal. It was very strange in an oriental and a Jew.

Theme : The explanation of a consecrated life — the love of Christ.

I. *The love of Christ has revealed itself in dying for all.* — Contrast the love for Christ and Christ's love for us. Paul refers his life to his belief in the reception of that love. *Cf.* the influence of receiving love from our friends. Christ had shown his love to be the highest type of love — a ransoming love, the innocent for the guilty. This fact had profoundly affected his life.

II. *Such was his debt to Christ that he was not longer living for himself but for Christ.* — That was the purpose of redemption. Paul accepted it. Contrast this relation of gratitude with that of slaves. Paul could not live in Tarsus to get riches, or in Jerusalem as a prominent Jewish leader.

III. *A new relation is established with men — not to say with Christ. Cf.* vs. 16.

a. Some men were supposed to have an especial advantage in their acquaintance with Christ in the flesh. Paul is under the quite different relation of one who realizes in himself the power of the death and the resurrection.

b. So he views men in no ordinary way. He is theirs for Christ's sake.

Conclusion : The secret of any consecrated life will be found in the great fact that, having known Christ in the deepest sense, he is

moved by Christ's love to be a new creature (creation). He is not insane: he is "in Christ."

EXEGETICAL CRITICISM.

Is it by inadvertence or intention that the preacher has omitted, both from the text as quoted and from the treatment of it in the sermon (following "died for all"), the words "therefore all died; and he died for all"?

In either case it is certainly a mistake. The text ought not to be mutilated; and if it is quoted in full, these words, difficult of understanding for almost all readers, should receive some attention and explanation.

If the outline fairly represents the sermon, it is to be feared that from the point of view of exposition it would not be preëminently successful; that the audience would not go away with a very clear conception of the real meaning of the text. If a preacher takes a text as long and as rich as this, he ought, usually at least, to treat it in such a way that his intelligent hearers will go away with a clearer, fuller understanding of the text, so that, whenever they come upon it in their reading again, it will shine out with the meaning which the sermon has shown them in it. This sermon, it is to be feared, would not have accomplished this result. The introduction ought to lead more directly up to the text. The exposition of "love of Christ" is good; a study of the word "constrain" would, perhaps, bring out some equally suggestive material at that point. "Therefore all died" calls, as said above, for consideration; and surely there should be some treatment of the "new creat*ure*" in Christ.

E. D. BURTON.

HOMILETICAL CRITICISM.

I have to judge this plan simply as a plan. I have no doubt that my opinions would be modified, to a certain extent, should I read the sermon of which it is the basis. Looking at it, then, as I would were it presented in the classroom for criticism, I find it defective in two particulars:

First, it does not contain sufficient substance to promise a satisfactory sermon. A single illustration is suggested in the first main division, and a single one in the second; and neither is of a nature to admit of lengthy development. The preacher should accumulate a mass of thought, and then should arrange it for writing or for extemporaneous delivery. I find no evidence here of abundant material.

The second defect is that of overlapping. The first and second main divisions are identical in substance. The identity of the two seems to me complete. Both state the cause, which was the sacrificial love of Christ; the occasion, which was the reception of that love by the sacred writer; and the effect, which was the transformation of the life. There is a certain difference of language, but I can detect no real difference of thought. Moreover, I have a doubt whether the third main division is not so far anticipated in the first and second as to lose much of its freshness and force.

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MATERIAL FROM ENGLISH LITERATURE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS.

I. THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY. II. THE DAY OF JUDGMENT. III. THE LAST SUPPER. JUDAS.

By PROFESSOR MYRA REYNOLDS, PH.D.,
The University of Chicago.

I. *The Triumphal Entry.*—See Jean Ingelow's poem, *Palm Sunday:*

They spread their garments beneath His feet,
And strew'd green palms on the rock-hewn way;
"Great Son of David," in greeting sweet,
"Blessed art Thou," they did sing and say;
"Hosanna!"

Lo, when He marked from the mount's descent
Beautiful Salem in all her pride,
Under the olives He weeping went,
While bearing their palms her children cried,
"Hosanna!"

Mourner and Monarch, Thy tears are dry;
But the song of the palms shall ne'er be o'er,
For the multitudes yet following cry,
As the multitudes gone on before,
"Hosanna!"

II. *The Day of Judgment.*—In this lesson is given the test which is to be used as a basis for the final separation of men into two classes, the good and the evil. The blessed ones, those who are to inherit the kingdom, have served their fellow-men in the spirit of Christ. Those who are classed with the devil and his angels are those who have failed in such service. This is the underlying thought of Lowell's *The Search.* Nature and the world failed to disclose Christ to the earnest seeker. Even the forms of the church, prized more than Christ's living heart, had become but as veils to conceal him from men. At last, however, dear Love came and pointed to fresh-trodden prints of bare and bleeding feet.

Love looked me in the face and spake no words,
But straight I knew those footprints were the Lord's.
I followed where they led,
And in a hovel rude,
With naught to fence the weather from His head,

The King I sought for meekly stood;
A naked, hungry child
Clung round His gracious knee,
And a poor hunted slave looked up and smiled
To bless the smile that set him free;

* * * * * *

I knelt and wept: my Christ no more I seek.
His throne is with the outcast and the weak.

In *A Parable* Lowell gives renewed emphasis to the faith that shows itself in deeds of love to the poor and the outcast. Christ is represented as visiting the earth to see how his brethren believe in him. Chief priests, rulers, and kings greet the Mighty One with pomp and state. Great organs pour forth jubilant floods of praise, and everywhere his own image is set up for worship. But Christ sees that men care more for form and doctrine than for his real spirit of love toward the needy. He reproaches them sharply:

"Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,
On the bodies and souls of living men?
And think ye that building shall endure
Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?

"With gates of silver and bars of gold
Ye have fenced my sheep from their Father's fold;
I have heard the dropping of their tears
In heaven these eighteen hundred years."

"O, Lord and Master, not ours the guilt,
We build but as our fathers built;
Behold thine images how they stand,
Sovereign and sole through all our land."

Then Christ sought out an artisan,
A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,
And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin
Pushed from her faintly want and sin.

These set he in the midst of them,
And as they drew back their garment-hem,
For fear of defilement, "Lo, here," said he,
"The images ye have made of me!"

Mrs. Browning's *The Cry of the Children* embodies a pathetic protest against the inhumanity of employing young children in the mines and mills, and against the futility and hypocrisy of trying to teach these miserable little ones of the love of God:

They answer, "Who is God that He should hear us,
While the rushing of the iron wheels is stirred?
When we sob aloud, the human creatures near us
Pass by, hearing not, or answer not a word.

* * * * * * *

Is it likely God, with angels singing round him,
Hears our weeping any more?"

Swinburne's *Before a Crucifix* is a hopeless and bitterly strong arraignment of the fear, the lust, the greed of gain, that have sheltered themselves

under the phantom of a Christless cross. He abhors "the Christian creeds that spit on Christ," and can see in the Christianity of his day no trace of the Christ "that lived, loved, wrought, and died" for man.

For the other side of the picture see Whittier's *St. Gregory's Guest*, closing with the stanzas:

> Still, wherever pity shares
> Its bread with sorrow, want, and sin,
> And love the beggar's feast prepares,
> The uninvited Guest comes in.
>
> Unheard, because our ears are dull,
> Unseen, because our eyes are dim,
> He walks our earth the Wonderful,
> And all good deeds are done to Him.

In Whittier's *By Their Works* we have another phase of this general theme simply expressed:

> Call him not heretic whose works attest
> His faith in goodness by no creed confessed.
> Whatever in love's name is truly done
> To free the bound and lift the fallen one
> Is done to Christ. Whoso in deed and word
> Is not against Him labors for our Lord.

The love to man which Christ so strongly enjoined upon his disciples was, at its best, but the faintest reflex of God's love to man. This thought finds expression in this stanza by John Byrom:

> What is more tender than a mother's love
> To the sweet infant fondling in her arms?
> What arguments need her compassion move
> To hear its cries, and help it in its harms?
>
> Now, if the tenderest mother were possessed
> Of all the love within her single breast
> Of all the mothers since the world began,
> 'Tis nothing to the love of God to man.

III. *The Last Supper. Judas.*—In this lesson we have a twofold outlook. Judas represents the malignity and hypocrisy which not even Christ can alter or subdue. The Supper commemorates the highest example of love to men, and is sanctified by the holiest possible communion of hearts high-sorrowful with love and the shadow of approaching death. In its extremest form we have again presented the world-old antithesis between love and hate. Various phases of this theme have found expression in literature. The longing of man for that full communion with God of which the Supper stands as the permanent symbol is the underlying thought in Tennyson's *Sir Galahad.* We feel in this poem the purity, the exaltation, of the soul "all whose love is drawn above." Even on earth he breathes the air of heaven, the pure lilies of paradise with odors haunt his dream, great hopes are his, fear is cast out, the organ-harmonies of the other world are in his ears, and he passes through life fed by clear dream and solemn vision. A second part

of the general theme has to do with the practical working out of the love that gives the feast its significance. Most of the poems referred to under "The Day of Judgment" would be equally applicable here. Lowell's poetry is permeated with the thought that no man truly keeps the divine law whose life is not ruled by the Christian spirit of love to man.

In *The Vision of Sir Launfal* the splendid young knight in his flaming armor goes forth to search for the Holy Grail, the symbol of Christ, but he loathes the foul leper, and, so long as there is in his heart selfish desire for personal spiritual aggrandizement or scorn of any living thing, this search is in vain. It is only when he can say to the leper,

> "I behold in thee
> An image of Him who died on the tree;
> Thou, also, hast had thy crown of thorns —
> Thou, also, hast had the world's buffets and scorns —
> And to thy life were not denied
> The wounds in the hands and feet and side;
> Mild Mary's Son, acknowledge me;
> Behold, through Him, I give to thee!"

it is only when he shares his last crust with the horrible creature he had once despised that the glorified vision of the Son of Man appears to him. And the voice that was softer than silence said:

> "Lo, it is I; be not afraid!
> In many climes, without avail,
> Thou hast spent thy life for the Holy Grail;
> Behold, it is here — this cup which thou
> Didst fill at the streamlet for me but now;
> This crust is my body broken for thee,
> This water His blood that died on the tree;
> The Holy Supper is kept, indeed,
> In whatso we share with another's need;
> Not what we give, but what we share,
> For the gift without the giver is bare;
> Who gives himself with his alms feeds three,
> Himself, his hungering neighbor, and me."

Exploration and Discovery.

In the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Professor Prinzivalli, of Rome, gives an account of the discovery, by Professor Marucchi, of a *graffito*, or "scratch," upon the walls of the old palace of the emperor Tiberius in Rome. This new *graffito* seems to have been the work of a soldier, since the vaulted room in which it was found was apparently a guard room. It represents the crucifixion, the cross being in the shape of a T, to the top of which an inscription, represented as being made by soldiers, would be fixed. On one side of Jesus is one of the thieves, fastened to a stake, while in another part the nails are seen prepared. Over the person upon the cross (who is not yet nailed, but only tied) is a word that, though somewhat indistinct, may be restored *Chrestus*, the very name used by Suetonius and Tacitus. The entire inscription has not yet been deciphered, but one word is either *Pilatus* or *Piletus*, and it would also seem as if it contained the statement that Jesus was scourged although a man who had benefited his people.

The exact date of the *graffito* cannot yet be stated.

Dr. Bliss, in a paper upon the "Triumphal Entry," contributed to the *Sunday School Times* of April 16, 1898, gives this interesting description of a portion of Jerusalem of which he is exceptionally well fitted to speak:

"Put yourself back some nineteen hundred years, and descend with me into the Tyropean valley. Let us walk down the paved street, which probably ran down from one of the western gates of the temple to the Fountain Gate, which I discovered south of the Pool of Siloam, with a branch to the pool itself. Note the finely jointed paving-stones of the street, with steps at intervals of about sixteen feet. Observe the curb on either side, giving a breadth of twenty-five feet, increasing to fifty feet after a branch road has joined it. Note the manholes, with circular heads, which connect with the drain below, so lofty in places that a man may walk upright. At the fork of the road let us take the right branch and descend by the splendid flight of steps, arranged in

a system of alternate broad and narrow treads, to the Pool of Siloam, which is about seventy-five feet square, is partly hewn out of the solid rock, partly built of well-jointed masonry, and has an arcade running round it, and a paved court to the south.

"I believe that down these steps and into this court came the man who was born blind, to whom Jesus said: 'Go, wash in the Pool of Siloam.' It was doubtless in memory of this healing that five hundred years later was erected the church which I found above the pool. The south aisle extends over the arcade, and the altar stone is immediately above the Siloam tunnel."

In the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund for January, Rev. J. E. Hanauer has an interesting note upon "The Skipping of the Mountains and Little Hills," Psalm 114:1–6. It is a translation from the German of Stephen Schultz, a missionary in Palestine in 1754. Mr. Schultz at one time, with a company of others, visited a Bedouin encampment. Their host entertained them after the meal with "joyful music," which consisted of singing, and the "rattling of the women's tongues." Besides this noise in the women's tent, the sheep were led through the tent, the shepherd going first, and playing on his shepherd's pipe, the flock following him. As the shepherd changed his tune, making it fast or slow, the sheep danced or walked. After the sheep came the he-goats, like the sheep, skipping about in a remarkable fashion to music. After the sheep and goats came the camels, which also danced, not through but around the tents. This custom, Mr. Schultz states, was followed only in the case when a great lord came to the tent. He, therefore, suggests that when the Psalmist said the mountain skipped like rams, and the hills like lambs, he meant to indicate the presence of God. Mr. Hanauer is unable to verify this story, for, although he has seen goats which have been taught tricks, he had never seen whole flocks of sheep, and even camels, being taught to keep step with Arabic music. He naturally asks whether the statements of Mr. Schultz can be verified.

The *Quarterly Statement* has also a note upon the Bridge of Jacob's Daughters. Considerable difficulty has always been felt in accounting for this strange name for this most important bridge. The Mohammedan tradition is that, when Jacob returned to Palestine with his sons and daughters, he crossed the Jordan by this bridge, and settled with his daughters in a neighboring cave (now known as the Cave of Jacob's Daughters), overlooking the roads to Damascus. The news of Joseph's death was brought him by his sons at this place, and he and his daugh-

ters wept so much that the holes in the rocks made by their tears are shown to this day.

The following is an explanation given by Houri Jacob, a Maronite priest, to Rev. B. B. Friedmann :

At the southern end of Safed there stood during the period of the crusades the nunnery of St. James, which was supported by the tolls derived from the bridge. When Safed was about to be besieged by the Mohammedan army, the nuns attempted to escape to the city, but were cut off by the enemy and forced to seek safety in the cave above mentioned. There they were discovered and massacred. This incident has given rise to the Mohammedan tradition, the nuns having been confounded with the daughters of Jacob.

Another item of importance in the number is the proposal by Dr. C. Schick to locate Ramathaim-Zophim, the home of Samuel (1 Sam. 1 : 1), to the south of Jerusalem, in the double city Bireh and Khŭrbet 'Alia in the mountains not far from Solomon's Pools. Such identification, he holds, better suits the account of the journey of Saul when in search of the asses than that commonly accepted.

Professor Petrie has just completed a successful winter's work at Dendera, in Upper Egypt. By the help of his assistants he was enabled to complete an unusual amount of investigation within the short period of three months. Mrs. Petrie wrote down all of the survey work and drew all the plans; Mr. Mace cleaned out tombs and worked the men; Mr. Davies did the copying and the Ptolemaic texts; Mr. MacIver measured the many hundred skulls and skeletons. The place is nearly a mile long and one-half mile wide, full of tombs; but they searched every part and opened nearly one-half the area of the ground. The tombs date from the fourth dynasty down through the sixth to the eleventh, one tomb of the eighteenth, and a few of the twenty-fifth to the thirtieth, with much Ptolemaic and Roman material. Under the sixth dynasty Petrie was able to trace a noble family through several generations running into the seventh; a coffin of this family bore a religious text containing twelve to fifteen hundred signs.

The architectural results are very good. The brick mastabas are nobly built, with great arches and vaulting that remind one of Roman brickwork, and they constitute a connected series of development of form in the sixth and seventh dynasties. They have furnished a large number of inscribed tomb tablets.

At Hieraconpolis Quibell has brought to light much of importance from the early kings.

Notes and Opinions.

An Entertaining Hypothesis vs. Facts.—Mr. Grant Allen, in his recent work upon the *Evolution of the Idea of God*, describes Christianity as a sort of compound of primitive religious instincts. These instincts, in their most elementary forms, prompt men to worship and even (honorifically) eat dead ancestors, to worship gods emblematical of the life of corn, and to "manufacture God from a dead man." This primitively religious combination—after more or less development—he holds, was attached by a semi-historical Paul to legends which grouped themselves about a very indistinct person, Jesus. Christ he accordingly regards as the result of a sort of combination of a corn-god and of a dead man.

This hypothesis, though entertaining somewhat after the fashion of a story of Frank Stockton, would hardly merit attention were it not that it is only one form of a tolerably widespread effort on the part of writers of a certain class to rewrite the history of Christianity by the aid of so-called primitive religions. While such an effort is thoroughly desirable in itself, the time has long since passed when Christianity can be so examined apart from its historic founders. Any man who wishes its true origin must—parting company with Mr. Grant Allen—go to other works than Frazer's *Golden Bough*, must look to something else than primitive religious instincts, and stop consorting with people who ate their dead fathers to show them respect and killed chosen youths to manufacture gods, and must come out into the dusty but traceable highway of historical criticism.

Guesses at the Riddle of Existence.—Professor Goldwin Smith, who has at various times played the part of a brilliant free-lance in history, travel, politics, Greek, and Latin, has in these later days joined company with Professor Huxley and entered into the discussion of theology. In his volume, *Guesses at the Riddle of Existence*, he has gathered together essays, some of which, on their first appearance, aroused no little discussion. As he himself says in his preface, they do not attempt to discuss recondite documentary or historical questions. They are, therefore, of no special value,

except as showing how a light-hearted dealing with superficial inconsistencies gives opportunity for uncritical cleverness, and the display of a lack of any serious acquaintance with scientific theology. As illustrations of this cleverness and ignorance one might cite, among other statements, these: "The Son of Man" is a title of humanity; Jesus recoiled from the magnificent building of the temple; wealth appeared to Jesus only in the guise of Dives with Lazarus lying at his gate, not in its more beneficent form; the benign influence of his teachings has been over the individual heart, and much less over civilization in general; in the teachings of Jesus, learning, literature, and science have no place; the proof proposed for the authenticity of the four gospels would not be accepted in the case of an ordinary work; the main argument of the author of *Supernatural Religion* has not been thoroughly shaken; in the fourth gospel the Last Supper is plainly not the Passover; the evidence upon which the miraculous darkness and apparitions at the time of the crucifixion rest is the same as that upon which all other miracles rest; Christianity involves anti-scientific ideas of the world; the whole ecclesiastical scheme of salvation rises and falls with the fall of man as recorded in Genesis; it is useless to attempt scientific explanations of the star of the nativity.

If we are to have criticisms of Christian doctrine, let us suggest that technical problems demand as much recondite discussion in theology as in political science. Taken altogether, the position of Professor Smith as regards modern theology is about as intelligent as that of Thomas Paine, except that it is more antiquated.

Van Manen's "Apologia pro Vita sua."—In his articles in the *Expository Times* on "A Wave of Hypercriticism," Professor Van Manen attempts a vindication of himself and his friends and sharply criticises Professor Davidson for his oversight in disregarding the attacks made by the Dutch school to which he belongs upon the genuineness of the four great Pauline epistles. He also criticises Sanday and Headlam for their too incomplete knowledge of the same school. Above all does he repudiate the words of the "gray-headed and indeed most reverend and learned Dr. Samuel Davidson: 'This wave of hypercriticism . . . . is devoid of interest for English theologians.'" Among other justifications of the position held by himself, together with Steck and Völter, Professor Van Manen says: "They [the school] do not know any reason why, in the research into the origin of the thirteen of fourteen Pauline epistles, an exception should be made in favor of

the four to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians. They consider it their duty to ask these writings as well for their credentials. They judge that if in inquiries about authenticity in other instances no positive value is allowed to external evidence, it cannot be done here either." He then proceeds to follow up the latter statement by a general discrediting of all the earliest patristic writings in favor of internal evidence. The articles are a singular mixture of learning, injured pride, and assumption. Have no other scholars started with as little prejudgment as Professor Van Manen claims for himself and his fellow Dutch critics? Are they unique in thinking that one must examine the internal evidence for the "great epistles" of Paul? On the whole, we are inclined to believe that Dr. Davidson (with nearly every first-class New Testament scholar of the day) is correct, and that the new movement is indeed a wave of hypercriticism with which even those English critics who, according to Professor Van Manen, "have come forward as the best interpreters of the Tübingen school for the thoughtful party of theologians of Great Britain and America," would hardly care to be associated, even could Professor Van Manen discover them. The authenticity of Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians is now — to use Mirabeau's words about a very different matter — "ancient history," and the question is hardly to be reopened, even by the *Apologia* of Professor Van Manen and the efforts of his brother tangential critics.

Luke 22 : 43, 44. — In an article upon "Gethsemane," in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Very Rev. Alfred Loisy, D.D., of Paris, holds that the verse describing the "bloody sweat" is not to be rejected, on either internal or external evidence, although he leaves the question open as to whether or not it was in the "primitive gospel." In the course of his discussion he inserts a footnote, in which he says that "the opinion that the Vatican MS. represents a neutral text seems very improbable," his view being apparently that B is the work of "old Alexandrian and Palestinian copyists of the evangelical text," and the omission by them of the verses in question was due to the fact that they "might have been shocked to think that the Son of God had need of being strengthened by an angel, and of being overwhelmed with the thoughts of his death."

Such textual criticism is a fair illustration of the lengths to which dogmatic presuppositions will carry one.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE ACTS OF PAUL. By W. MUSS-ARNOLT, in *The Independent*, January 6 and 13, 1898.

AN important discovery by the great Coptic scholar, Carl Schmidt, was made a few months ago. It is announced by him in the *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, VII, 117–24; the subject of a special communication to the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1897, No. 24, cols. 625–9, by Professor Adolf Harnack, and of an article by Theodor Zahn in the December issue of the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 933–40. It is nothing less than the discovery of the Acts of Paul, in a Coptic version; a most welcome addition to the many finds of the last five years, *e. g.*, the apocryphal gospel and apocalypse (see, however, Zahn, p. 933) of Peter; Mrs. Lewis' discovery of the early Syriac gospel translation; Robinson and James' edition of a considerable fragment of the old Acts of John, throwing new light on the time and conditions of the sixth decade of the second century; and last, the new Logia of Jesus. Thus four of the five writings placed by Eusebius immediately after the New Testament, *i. e.*, the Shepherd, Epistle of Barnabas, Teaching of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse of Peter, are known to us now in their original Greek, either wholly or at least enough to present a fair picture of the whole. And now we shall know also the contents of the fifth writing, so closely related with New Testament documents that in early times it was, as a rule, copied along with them.

The contents of the papyrus, now belonging to the Heidelberg University Library, are principally: (1) the Acts of Paul and Thecla; (2) the spurious correspondence between Paul and the church at Corinth; (3) the *Martyrium Pauli*, of which the Greek text is published by M. A. Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Pars prior, pp. 104–17 (Lipsiæ, 1891). The last leaf of the manuscript is preserved, containing the final words of the *Martyrium*, followed by the subscription, unfortunately not intact, giving, in Coptic, as the title of the whole work, what corresponds to the Greek Πράξεις Παύλου, the Acts of Paul.

The fragments, as far as can be made out, describe events of Paul's life in Antioch, Iconium, Corinth, Philippi, and Rome. The author appears to emphasize especially distinguished female converts and companions of Paul (Thecla, Stratonice, Eubule, Artemilla, etc.). Its contents appear to settle for good several mooted points.

1. The Greek *Martyrium* of Paul agrees with the end of the new Coptic text (so Harnack, 626, and Zahn). The Greek text now begins most abruptly, and proves to have been taken out of the larger work to serve as a "lesson" for the apostle's memorial day.

2. Zahn's view that the apocryphal correspondence between Paul and the church at Corinth was originally a part of the Acts of Paul is confirmed. This correspondence was incorporated into the New Testament of the Syriac church in the fourth century. What remains yet to be established is the hypothesis of Vetter that the Syriac translator added to the letter of Paul a large section of his own fabrication, in order to refute the Bardesanian heresy.

3. The most interesting information gathered from this new text is the fact, never thought of before, that the Acts of Paul and Thecla is a part of the larger Acts of Paul. The Acts of Thecla were detached from the larger Acts of Paul to serve as a "lesson" for the saint's day. The points of contact between the two "Acts" are now easily explained from the identity of their author. Harnack called attention to the remarkable parallels between the Acts of Thecla and the correspondence of Paul and the church at Corinth. This is now also easily understood, both being portions of one and the same larger work. It cannot yet be explained how Jerome was led to believe that the Asiatic presbyter, the reputed author of the Acts of Paul and Thecla, was convicted of their authorship before the apostle John, and deprived of his office. The author, to be sure, did not intentionally commit this fraud as such. His love and admiration for Paul led him to write this fantastic novel; and yet, how many centuries, says Harnack, has the church held this work in highest esteem! — a fact that again speaks very unfavorably for the sound judgment and sagacity of church Fathers and mediæval theologians.

Harnack believes that the whole Acts of Paul were written about the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Among the many questions of great interest, which we hope may be settled when the text of the Acts of Paul is published, is, for instance, James' suggestion that features of the later Acts of Xantippe and Polyxena were borrowed from the earlier work; that the excerpt of a speech of Paul at Athens preserved

in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury (1156 A. D.) is an extract of the Acts of Paul.

Another important question awaiting an answer is the relation of the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, with their long introduction, dealing with Paul, to the Acts of Paul, especially if, as Harnack believes, they are not heretical (Gnostic), but are closely related to the Acts of Paul in style and character.

These papers furnish an admirable summary of this important matter, and are of value to all students of the New Testament. The subject is of special interest in the light of recent discussions as to Acts.

S. M.

THE THEOLOGY OF ALBRECHT RITSCHL.—(1) The fundamental conception of Ritschl's theology is not anti-philosophical, but anti-metaphysical. We cannot know things in themselves. The criterion of religious truths is ethical—a judgment as to their value to us. (2) In his doctrine of Scripture Ritschl rejects traditional views of inspiration, substitutes no others, and regards the whole matter as a hindrance to theology. The significance of the Old Testament lies in its preparation for the New, which itself must be used critically. The aim of criticism is a valid knowledge of Christianity, and the construction of the system of Christian truth. The real teaching of Jesus lies in the testimony of his disciples, expressed before the influx of philosophy. As to Jesus himself, Ritschl holds that his oneness with the Father was in disposition, in will, in aim. His aim was to establish the kingdom of God, and the practical aspect of his life is the essential one, viz., his activity. In one respect alone is Jesus unapproachable—in the founding of the kingdom of God, in which he and the Father were one. His death is not the center of his work, and is, indeed, almost incidental. He had no actual preëxistence except in the love of God. Ritschl's entire Christology is dominated by his theory of value-judgments. The supreme consideration is what Christ is to us, his value to our hearts and lives. God is love, in that he trains men for membership in the kingdom of God, in which they are to reach a supernatural destiny. Conversion is a continuous process. The kingdom of God is of the first importance to Ritschl. The believer can have communion with Christ only through the congregation of believers. But the kingdom is more than the church in that it is the entire sphere of Christian action, while the church is an institution. None of these positions is quite satisfactory, and the entire system

rests upon a questionable philosophy.—J. H. W. STUCKENBERG, in the *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1898, pp. 268–92.

THE INTERPRETATION OF PARABLES.—It is the purpose of this paper to make a classification of parables that will give exegetical criteria and then to derive rules for parabolic exegesis. It is based wholly on a study of the interpretation given by Jesus himself to his parables. As regards their pedagogical purpose and method, parables as used by Jesus are of two sorts: those setting forth the nature and the progress of the kingdom of God (as in Matt., chap. 13), *i. e.*, a complex truth; and the homiletic, *i. e.*, those setting forth a single truth or duty (as Luke 10: 25–37). In the case of the former Jesus interprets details, but only such as *are essential to the parable as a story;* in the case of the latter he ignores them and applies only the "point." As rules for interpretation one should (1) discover whether the parable belongs to the first or second class; (2) in the former case (*a*) discover the central point of the parable as a story and its indispensable elements, (*b*) so interpret these (and these only) as to make them stand for teachings subordinate to the composite truth corresponding to the dominant analogy. (3) In case of a parable having to do with a single truth or duty, discover its "point" and use it and it alone.—SHAILER MATHEWS, in the *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1898, pp. 293–311.

THE CHURCH AS THE FULFILMENT OF THE CHRIST (Eph. 1:23).—The precise meaning of πλήρωμα has been a subject of much controversy. The first point to be settled is the force of words ending in μα. This is not according to the traditional rule, that of a passive sense, but rather "the result of the agency of the corresponding verb." By a study of usage it will appear that "fulness" is a "fulness in exchange for emptiness." Therefore Paul in the present passage declares that in some mysterious sense the church is that without which Christ is not complete, but with which he is complete. In support of this somewhat startling view, appeal can be made to (1) the metaphor of the body which leads up to the present verse; (2) the incompleteness of his metaphor to express Paul's constant thought as to the union of the church and Christ; for as the church grows toward completion, the Christ also grows toward completion; (3) Col. 1: 24; (4) the next words to those in question, where Christ is spoken of as the one who is being fulfilled.—J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, in the *Expositor*, April, 1898.

Das Eigentum nach christlicher Beurteilung.—The real position of Christianity as to property, viz., that it must be at the service of love, cannot be reduced to law. Every period may have peculiar needs, and to reduce the matter to legislation would be to put fetters upon Christian instincts. Laws must, however, be so framed that Christian love can have the freest expression. The following principles are seen: (1) private property must be recognized; (2) duties must be recognized in economic matters—in the production, the protection, and the use of private property; (3) all classifications of the nature of property must be aided that look toward the recognition of the social nature and reciprocal duties of human life. Special laws and applications must be left to the awakened Christian conscience in its relations to the constantly changing circumstances of life. No single law can ever express this. The great duty of the church is to plant and cherish the Christian instinct and feeling of love. This love will express itself in the spontaneous fulfilling of the duties as regards property.—H. H. Wendt, in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, March, 1898.

The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath.—To put the contrast concisely between the Sabbath in its original form and the fully developed post-exilic institution, we might say that the old Sabbath was merely a *šabbāthôn*—a day of propitiation and pacification, marked by rites of an atonement character—one *šabbāthôn* among many others. It was identical in character and spirit with the Babylonian *ûm nûḫ libbi* or *šabattum*, conveying the idea of "propitiation," "cessation" of the divine anger, pacification of the gods, and cognate ideas. The developed institution of the Hebrew Sabbath was unique in its character, with rest from all kinds of work as its central idea, a day sacred to Yahweh who had created the world in six days and who had himself set the example for all times by resting on the seventh day. These two features—(*a*) a day of absolute rest and (*b*) the doctrine upon which this ordinance is based—represent the distinctively Jewish contribution to the Babylonian-Hebraic *šabattum*. Between the old *šabbāthôn* and the new *Šabbāth*, however, there lies the growth of the Hebrew people from a semi-primitive condition of religious thought to the advanced belief which controls and dominates the entire pentateuchal legislation in its final—its present—shape.—Morris Jastrow, Jr., in the *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. II, pp. 312–52.

Work and Workers.

Joseph Allen Dixon, who has been for several years secretary of the Bible Normal College at Springfield, Mass., has been elected to the presidency of the institution. Under his administration it is expected that special attention will be given the biblical department, which will be put under the charge of a man of recognized position in his particular field of work.

Professor Wheeler, of Cornell University, is conducting a Bible class under the auspices of the Christian Association of that university upon the "Fundamental Teachings of Jesus," with special reference to the Sermon on the Mount. He has published a short syllabus of three months' work, which is admirable in the completeness, and yet succinctness, of its treatment.

A second edition of Professor H. M. Gwatkin's *Selections from Early Writers Illustrative of Church History to the Time of Constantine* (Macmillan Co., New York) has been issued, containing nine passages not given in the first edition (1893), and so enlarging the work by twenty pages. And another work also, which has proved very useful in recent years, has appeared in a second and enlarged edition, Dr. Charles Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (Macmillan Co., New York). To this work more than fifty pages of important additional notes have been appended.

The German emperor has granted the necessary means for the publication of a new large dictionary of the ancient Egyptian language. A commission composed of Professors Ebers, Erman, Pietschmann, and Steindorff, representing the four royal academies and societies of science of Munich, Berlin, Göttingen, and Leipzig respectively, has been elected by these learned bodies as the editorial staff. The dictionary will contain all the words occurring in such texts as are written in hieroglyphic or hieratic writing. Demotic and Coptic texts will be utilized only if they serve to explain words written in hieroglyphs.

The spring meeting of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research was held in Chicago on the afternoon and evening of March 19.

This was the eighteenth regular session of the society, which has at present twenty-eight active members, representing the biblical departments of six theological seminaries in Chicago and vicinity. The papers presented were by Professor Charles Horswell, Ph.D., of Garrett Biblical Institute, on "Elijah—A Study of Sources;" Professor D. C. Marquis, D.D., LL.D., of McCormick Theological Seminary, on "Seals, Trumpets, Bowls;" Professor George H. Gilbert, Ph.D., D.D., on "The Conference in Jerusalem." New officers of the society were elected for the ensuing year, the president being Professor Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago, and the secretary, Professor Charles F. Bradley, D.D., of the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston.

THE thirty-fifth International Sunday School Lesson Committee met in Chicago in April. Twelve members of the committee were present and their work was largely devoted to revising the list of lessons proposed for 1901. It is noteworthy that a somewhat radical change has taken place in the policy of this committee, due, doubtless, in part to the last few years of agitation concerning the subject of Sunday-school lessons, and more regard is now had for chronological sequence and setting. The entire series of lessons now proposed will cover six years, 1900–05, and provides for two and a half years in the Old Testament and three and a half in the New Testament. The first eighteen months, beginning with 1900, are devoted to a study of the life of Christ chronologically. The remaining four and a half years' lessons are to alternate between the Old and New Testaments, the basis being biographical, the last six months of 1901 starting with creation and ending with Exodus.

UNDER the auspices of the American School of Oriental Study and Research in Palestine, there was given, on March 30, at Cambridge, an illustrated lecture on the "Recent Excavations in Jerusalem," conducted by the Palestine Exploration Fund. The lecturer was Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, M.A., who has had personal charge of these excavations. We wish that this lecture by Dr. Bliss could be given in many of our universities, theological seminaries, and churches. Direct and definite information as to what has been accomplished by exploration in Palestine would readily arouse a great many people to enthusiasm and support for the Palestine Exploration Fund, and more particularly for the American School of Oriental Study and Research in Palestine, an enterprise only recently started, and not yet fully established. Its very useful purpose is to build up a school of Bible study

in Palestine similar to the schools for classical study in Italy and Greece. A full account of this American school can be obtained from the president, Professor J. H. Thayer, D.D., of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

A METHOD of popular Bible study in a town of 1,700 inhabitants is described in the *Sunday School Times* by Rev. Ozora S. Davis. At his suggestion an invitation was extended by a group of young men to Mr. Charles W. Osgood, of Bellows Falls, to deliver a course of five free lecture-talks on the book of Acts. This invitation was accepted by Mr. Osgood, and the young men then organized into two committees, one to have charge of all arrangements, and the other to direct the printing and advertising. A hall in the village square was engaged for the lectures, and the advertising committee began its work first by circulating a small flyer through the village announcing the course. Then they obtained from the lecturer outlines of his course, and printed these in a very neat booklet of sixteen pages, five by seven inches in size, containing the outlines and blanks for notes. These were given out in the Sunday schools and by personal workers during the week before the course began. Finally, on the day of each lecture, a small ticket was distributed in all the shops and stores. The lectures were largely attended, and at the last one the hall would not have held the audience, which filled the largest of the church vestries.

LEADING GERMAN scholars propose to organize an Oriental Society on a large scale, and to enlist the coöperation and financial support of all who are interested in biblical and oriental antiquities. An appeal has been published, signed by representatives of all schools of thought, from Wellhausen on the left to Hommel on the right, asking for assistance in the establishment of a German *Orient-Gesellschaft.* Three distinct purposes are put forth, namely: to arouse a more general interest in the work itself, which is now confined to the select few; to secure funds for this work, especially also to make excavations and diggings in order to procure materials for the Museum of Berlin; and, thirdly, to publish in more popular form the researches and investigations along this line. It is proposed to establish local societies throughout the country wherever possible, and, by making the annual contribution small, enlist the coöperation of as large a number of friends as possible. The Germans have all along been dependent chiefly upon the collections in the museums of other lands for their "raw materials" in this department, and now want a collection or col-

lections of their own. The new organization will be entirely independent of the old and famous German Oriental Society, although the projectors of the new movement are all also members of the old society. A committee has already been sent east to make preliminary examinations and to determine where and when work may be begun. The project will no doubt prove successful.

THE GERMANS are making special efforts to popularize the methods and results of modern biblical criticism. Recently a special organ for this very purpose has been established in the *Theologische Rundschau*, edited by Lic. W. Bousset, of Göttingen, and published by Mohr, of Freiburg i. B. It is a monthly of forty to fifty pages, octavo, and costs the nominal price of only six marks per annum. The coöperation of leading scholars at the university-centers and in the practical ministry has been secured, the school of thought represented being chiefly that type of advanced thought which in recent months has developed a rather marked tendency to more conservative views. The periodical is more than a literary journal, the object being, not so much to discuss separate books, but rather to develop lines of thought and tendencies in research, as these become clear through the leading publications in each department. The whole field of theology is to be covered, prominence being assigned to whatever special department may require it. Each number of the journal opens with a detailed discussion on a leading topic, followed by shorter critical announcements, all signed. Thus, the leader in No. 1 treats of "The Present Status of New Testament Research," written by the editor; in Nos. 2 and 3, "Modern Discussions on the Revelation of John," by A. Meyer; in No. 4, "C. H. Spurgeon," by J. Hans; No. 5, "The Origin of Judaism," by M. Löhr. Not only theology proper, but also kindred branches, such as sociology, fall within the sphere of this new journal. Its programme announces that it appeals particularly to the clergy, aiming to bridge over the chasm now existing between scientific biblical investigation and the practical ministry.

Book Reviews.

The Expositor's Greek Testament. Edited by W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D. Complete in 5 vols. Vol. I: *The Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke*, by REV. PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE; and *The Gospel of John*, by REV. PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Pp. viii + 872. Cloth, $7.50.

This monumental work upon the New Testament is expected, when completed in five volumes, to be a new Alford, in that it is expected to do for today's clergymen what Alford did for those of his generation. In the present volume we have a running commentary upon the synoptists by Professor Bruce, and upon the fourth gospel by Professor Dods, to which are prefixed somewhat full Introductions. The deficiencies, as well as the excellencies, of the work are not such as to be overlooked. That which is above all to be wondered at is the use of the *Textus Receptus*. It is true that variant readings are given, together with some manuscript evidence, but it is altogether surprising that two such scholars as Professors Bruce and Dods should have lent their names to such textual retrogression. One wonders whether such a course argues a reaction in England against Westcott and Hort in favor of Scrivener—a development which, if actually the case, would be surprising to American scholars. Another deficiency is to be seen in the Introduction of the fourth gospel. In many particulars this Introduction is admirable, and it would be hard to better it for compact presentation of the external and internal evidences for a Johannine origin of the gospel. That which, however, is surprising is that Professor Dods should have so summarily disposed of that theory which puts the gospel on a par with the gospel of Mark; that is, composed of genuine apostolic material worked over by a disciple. The commentary furnished by Professor Dods is marked by exactness and painstaking, although the limits set by the character of the book make it a series of footnotes to the text, and occasionally appear irksome. Professor Bruce in his Introduction to the synoptic

gospels has given an admirable summary of the present status of the synoptic problem, and presents his own view with his usual frankness. It is clear that, as he says, the commentary is a labor of love, but at the same time it also is clear that, far more than Professor Dods, he suffers from the limitation put upon him by the nature of the book. In many particulars his commentary is very satisfactory. It is flowing and illuminating, but, at the same time, Professor Bruce is not preëminently an exegete, and his notes are commentary rather than a succession of careful studies upon the words and thought of the gospels.

While we thus admit the existence of weak points in this work, it is by no means to be inferred that it is not to be of service to ministers who wish to use the Greek text, and who do not care at the same time to plunge into discussions; who want results rather than processes. It was the mission of Alford, and doubtless will be that of the present work, to furnish such a link between the Greek Testament and scientific commentaries. Whether, as a whole, it will quite rank with Alford remains to be seen, but, in the meantime, it is satisfactory to have in such compass the opinions of Professors Bruce and Dods upon the words of our Lord.

A word of regret may perhaps be allowed that the publishers, who have furnished the reader such a beautiful page, should allow the binder to give the book such a gaudy cover. S. M.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians. By Rev. T. K. Abbott, B.D., D.Litt., formerly Professor of Biblical Greek, now of Hebrew, Trinity College, Dublin. ["The International Critical Commentary."] New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. lxv+315. $2.50.

Five volumes have now appeared upon books of the New Testament in "The International Critical Commentary Series," so that we have become accustomed to the general characteristics of this important set of works. It has become understood that no minister should rest content until he has these new commentaries at his elbow; there are few books which can be as highly recommended. And many a Bible student, without a theological training but with a desire for knowledge that will lead him through the heavier professional literature, will glean rich harvests from the study of these technical volumes.

We have not lacked for commentaries on the Ephesian and Colossian epistles, but a commentary of the kind which Dr. Abbott has given us we certainly have not had, and were in need of. It is primarily philological. Its aim is to ascertain with as great precision as possible, first, what the text of the two epistles is, and, secondly, what is the actual meaning of the writer's language. A great deal of space is, therefore, given to the discussion and explication of the textual readings and evidence. The author uses as a basal Greek text that which underlies the Revised Version, but departs from this at points where his own study and judgment lead him to different conclusions. Dr. Abbott speaks with especial authority on matters connected with the text, for that field has attracted his most careful and prolonged attention.

A wealth of material is introduced to illumine the apostle's meaning in these writings. Greek words which occur here are treated at length with reference to their use in classical or extra-biblical Greek, and their use in the Septuagint and other New Testament literature. Great praise is due the author for the work which he has put upon this feature of the commentary. It is only by such investigation that exact interpretation can be secured.

The previously written commentaries which Dr. Abbott has found most useful are the ancient ones by Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia, and the modern ones by Alford, Barry, DeWette, Eadie, Ellicott, Meyer (W. Schmidt), Moule, von Soden, and the Bible (Speaker's) Commentary; also, for Ephesians, Harless, Stier, and Macpherson ; and, for Colossians, Lightfoot. The interpretation of these various commentators is constantly cited, so that these great works are in a way presented with Dr. Abbott's own to the reader. The great theological questions which arise from these writings of Paul are briefly but ably treated from an exegetical standpoint, and the historical questions are given full consideration in an introduction of great excellence. The genuineness of both letters is with great care defended, and their relations to other New Testament books discussed. The epistle to the Ephesians (so-called) he holds, with the great majority of scholars at the present time, to be a "circular" letter to churches of Asia Minor, of which the church at Ephesus was the chief one, and that because of this fact the letter at a subsequent time bore the Ephesian superscription. Rome is the place from which Dr. Abbott thinks the epistles were written, and the time was that of Paul's first imprisonment, about 63 A. D.

We are indebted to Dr. Abbott for a thorough reinvestigation of all the problems which surround these epistles, and welcome his confirmation of the conservative views of the epistles which are now again becoming established. C. W. V.

The Early Life of Our Lord. By J. BROUGH, Chaplain to the Forces. New York: E. T. Dutton & Co., 1897. Pp. 7+261. $1.75.

The writer of this volume has done students of the New Testament no inconsiderable service. We have had books in some number dealing with the same matter, like that of Stapfer, *Jesus Christ before his Ministry*, to say nothing of homiletical books handling the same subject. None of these, however, has been quite so serviceable as the present. Of course, all books treating of the early life of Jesus are exposed to the danger of reading into his life customs and events from earlier or later times, and the present author has not altogether escaped criticism on this score, but on the whole the volume is well done. The writer's knowledge of Jewish customs is considerable, and he has fallen neither into the error of thinking that the course of the life of Jesus was altogether conventional, nor into that of assuming that it was altogether miraculous. We commend this book to those who wish a knowledge of the probable life of Jesus during his boyhood.

S. M.

Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament. Von EBERHARD NESTLE. Mit 8 Handschriften-Tafeln. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. Pp. 129, 8vo. M. 3.40.

Professor Nestle's little book, which professes to be a guide (*Einführung*) rather than an introduction (*Einleitung*), relates only to textual criticism. It consists of three chapters: (1) "The History of the Printed Text of the Greek Testament;" (2) "The Materials of New Testament Criticism:" (*a*) manuscripts, (*b*) versions, (*c*) citations; (3) "The Theory and Practice of New Testament Criticism." An appendix is added containing bibliographical hints and a few additional remarks.

The execution, as need hardly be said, is excellent. A very large amount of accurately stated information has been compressed into a small space without any noticeable loss of clearness or interest. Only those who have tried to condense matter of this kind can fully appre-

ciate the care and skill which have been expended on the production of a work so small yet so comprehensive.

The writer's position as a textual critic can be indicated in a few words. The correspondence of ℵ and B, he maintains, proves nothing. Many readings of D which have been hitherto neglected by the majority of editors preserve the original text.

On the question concerning the language habitually used by our Lord, Professor Nestle substantially agrees with Zahn. "What tongue was spoken by Jesus himself? Probably Aramaic with Galilean coloring." He adds that Jesus was certainly acquainted with the Hebrew of the Old Testament. The other question — in what language was the first gospel document written — is put aside in one part of the volume as irrelevant, but seems to be answered elsewhere in the manner of Dr. Resch. Traces of an underlying Hebrew original are found in *epiousios* (Matt. 6 : 11) and the allusion to the rending of the veil of the temple (Matt. 27 : 51) when set side by side with the statements of Jerome about the readings of the gospel according to the Hebrews.

The writer has been well supported by the printer and publisher. The clear, bold type, the convenient size, the wide margins, and the appropriate binding make the perusal of the book a pleasure as well as an instructive occupation.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

EXETER, ENGLAND.

LITERARY NOTES.

E. R. HERRICK & CO. have issued Tennyson's *Crossing the Bar*, with decorations by Miss Blanche McManus — a charming edition ($0.25).

THE FLEMING H. REVELL CO. has issued an autobiography of Charles H. Spurgeon, compiled by his wife and private secretary from his diary and private letters.

THE June number of the BIBLICAL WORLD will be devoted to the history of Israel from Josiah to Ezra. Articles will be furnished by Professors Batten, Curtis, Paton, Davis, E. T. Harper, and McCurdy. It will be profusely illustrated.

The July number will contain a very important symposium upon "The Kingdom of God," upon the meaning of the term "kingdom of God" as Jesus used it. To it contributions will be made by Professors Peabody, of Harvard; Graham Taylor, of Chicago Commons;

Marvin R. Vincent, of Union Theological Seminary; Purves, of Princeton; Gilbert, of Chicago Theological Seminary; Stevens, of Yale; Drs. Lyman Abbott and Bradford, of *The Outlook;* Robert A. Woods, of Andover House, Boston, and Dr. J. H. W. Stuckenberg.

THE American Baptist Publication Society has done a good service in publishing a new and improved edition of *The Bremen Lectures.* In some particulars these lectures are out of date, but such essays as those by Dr. Uhlhorn upon the "Resurrection of Christ," Fuchs upon "Miracles," and Tischendorf upon "The Authenticity of our Gospels," have lost but little of their usefulness during the thirty years that have elapsed since they were published.

Gospel Missions, as Illustrated by Apostolic Practice. By J. M. Robertson, D.D. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1897; pp. 33; $0.10.) This sermon was first delivered by its author to his own congregation at McKinney, Tex. He afterwards repeated it before several missionary mass meetings in that state. The object of the discourse is to show from the Scriptures that the churches, by their contributions, should adequately sustain all legitimate agencies for the dissemination of the gospel. The discussion is vigorous, but somewhat polemical and dogmatic. The literary defects are too numerous.

Judas Makkabæus. Ein Lebensbild aus den letzen grossen Tagen des israelitischen Volkes. Entworfen von Dr. Hugo Weiss, ord. Professor der Theologie am Königl. Lyceum Hosianum zu Braunsberg. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung; St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 17 South Broadway, 1897; pp. viii + 122; $0.80, *net.*) This little book attempts no critical study of the sources from which the life of Judas is drawn, but its author stops at 2 Maccabees in his use of the apocrypha. Its real purpose is to set forth in as distinct a light as possible the career of Judas, and especially to show how he was successful in raising the national spirit of the Jews in the moment of their greatest danger. This spirit it was that filled the men who came to Christ, and helped found the real kingdom of God. In this attempt the author has been to a good degree successful. He has not discussed the political policy of Judas as fully as is desirable, but what he does say is correct. The same may be said of his treatment of all the phases of his hero's life except the military. In the light of this phase it is somewhat surprising to find him called a type of Christ. Altogether the volume adds little to our knowledge of its subject, but presents commonly known facts in an orderly and interesting way.

By permission of the sculptor *Erastus Dow Palmer*

THE ANGEL AT THE SEPULCHER

See p. 447

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME XI JUNE, 1898 NUMBER 6

CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY: JOSIAH TO EZRA.

By PROFESSOR J. F. MCCURDY, PH.D., LL.D.,
University College, Toronto, Canada.

PERIOD I. DECLINE AND FALL OF ASSYRIA.

1. *The last great king of Assyria.*—When Josiah came to the throne (639 B. C.), there were still thirteen years of life left to Asshurbanipal, king of Assyria (668–626 B. C.). We know a great deal about this famous ruler, the Sardanapalus of Persian and Grecian legend, of his wars, his public works, his patronage of Babylonian learning, his vast literary and scientific collections. Of the history of his later years (after 642 B. C.) we know little or nothing. It is certain, however, that his empire was vastly abridged and shorn of its splendor before his death, and that thereafter it rapidly collapsed till it was annihilated with the destruction of the capital, Nineveh, in 607 B. C.

2. *Causes of the catastrophe.*—The ruin of Assyria came from four causes: (1) It was built up and maintained by force alone and was, therefore, without moral or internal cohesiveness. (2) Its central and western portions were ravaged by northern barbarians, especially Scythians, for longer or shorter periods, during more than twenty years, beginning about 635 B. C. These devastations fell wholly within the reign of Josiah, but they touched lightly upon his territory, since it was the rich and fertile plains that the invaders mostly traversed. (3) Insurrec-

tions within the empire. In these the western portions, once so ready to rise, had taken little part since the days of Sennacherib (700 B. C.). The national spirit had been pounded out of them by the Assyrian tyrants, and they had no stomach for aggressive action. Besides, the central authority had been relaxed for many years, and they were no longer squeezed for tribute. In the east the conditions were different. Babylônia, never a willing vassal, had been breeding a virile race of patriots in the south, the Chaldeans, who had been rebelling intermittently for more than a century, and were now waiting an opportunity to strike at the capital. (4) The Aryan Medes, who had borne the Assyrian yoke but lightly, who had consolidated their tribes about 650 B. C. into a kingdom, determined to make an end of the hated Ninevite power. Repeated attempts were made, unsuccessfully, to capture the great city. At last an alliance was made with the Chaldeans, and the combined forces destroyed the Assyrian capital in 607 B. C., obliterating its walls, its towers, and all the guardian fortresses, so that the exact site of the city proper was not known to men till the middle of the present century.

3. *Influence upon Israel.*—The decline of Assyria, while of little direct effect upon Israel, had a great moral influence. The degeneration and perversion of the worship of Israel since the time of Ahaz had been largely due to the prestige of the Assyrian and Babylonian religion, whose cult was much affected by the Judaite princes. Now that such prestige was gone, the reforming party in Jerusalem met with no popular prejudice in favor of a triumphant idolatry and its practices.

PERIOD II. THE EGYPTIAN INTERREGNUM.

1. *Attitude of Josiah.*—Judah and Jerusalem were politically but little in sympathy with the movements which led to the fall of Nineveh. During most of the decisive years King Josiah was much occupied with internal reforms; in Israel the policy of reform always included domestic quiet and non-interference with foreign powers or peoples. He doubtless counted himself still a vassal of Assyria, as his father and grandfather had been, but

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active partisanship was out of the question. Least of all was he inclined to change his allegiance.

2. *Egypt and Josiah.*—The time came when Josiah had to take his stand. While Nineveh was still untaken, the head of the new and ambitious Egyptian dynasty of Sais, Pharaoh Necho, became seized with the idea of becoming heir to the moribund Assyrian. He entered Asia with an army, destined finally for an attack upon Nineveh, but to be used immediately for the occupation of the Mediterranean coast land. The course of his expedition led him over the historic plain of Jezreel. Pharaoh doubtless expected that some of the Asiatic provinces would come over to him. Egypt had been their old ally in intrigue and occasionally in war against Assyria. Now that the common oppressor was declining, the ancient bonds might be reunited and Josiah's oath to Asshurbanipal, now thirty years old, might be forgotten. But Josiah had no mind for a new suzerain, especially one who, without his leave, was traversing territory to which he himself had the nearest claim.

3. *The Egyptian conquest.*—To preclude, if possible, Egyptian sovereignty, Josiah marched against the Egyptian army. He was defeated at Megiddo, on the great battlefield of the nations. Being sore wounded by the archers, he was driven in his chariot to Jerusalem, and there he died. The freeholders of Israel raised to the throne his second son, Jehoahaz, to maintain their independence. Necho fixed his headquarters at Riblah, whence he dictated the course of events in Syria and Palestine. A force was sent against Jerusalem. In three months Jehoahaz was brought before him at Riblah. Thence the captive was sent to Egypt, where he died in exile (*cf.* Ezek. 19:4).

4. *The overthrow of Egypt.*—The Pharaoh now placed upon the throne of Judah the more subservient eldest son of Josiah, whose given name, Eliakim, he changed to its synonym, Jehoiakim, to mark the change of masters. For over three years Judah bore the Egyptian yoke as one of the provinces of a dependency that stretched as far northeast as the Euphrates. The yoke was probably not galling, as the Egyptian forces were only competent to keep in subjection a contented foreign realm.

Necho himself was kept busy guarding his eastern frontier. An advance westward of the Chaldean conqueror of Nineveh was to be expected at any time after the fall of that city. The Egyptians did not dare to cross the river, but awaited the attack at Carchemish on the western side. Here they were utterly defeated in 604 B. C., by the Chaldean forces. By this overthrow their hopes of an Asiatic empire were shattered forever.

PERIOD III. THE CHALDEAN RÉGIME.

1. *Israel in vassalage.—a) Achievements of Nebuchadrezzar.* Nebuchadrezzar, the conqueror of Pharaoh Necho, was the son of Nabopalassar, and had been his father's lieutenant in the campaign against Nineveh. He was an able general and ruler, and shares with King David, Tiglathpileser III, and Hannibal the distinction of being the greatest of the ancient Semites outside the sphere of religion and morals. His father having died soon after the victory at Carchemish, he came to the kingdom at the very moment when a new determining force was needed to bind and hold together the sundered elements of the old Assyrian empire. He, in fact, was the restorer and the last great champion of Semitism. A faithfully kept compact with the king of the Medes gave him the whole of the proper country of the Semites, while his former ally took control of all the highlands. He held to the old Assyrian policy toward the scattered peoples, but with a firmer, surer, and less violent grasp. At the same time he restored the Semitic hegemony to Babylonia, after its long renunciation. Thus the Babylon of his time became the consummate achievement of Semitism, splendid and opulent, in commerce and industry, religion and literature, the liberal and the mechanic arts.—*b) The Egyptian retreat.* We note particularly that the kings of the Chaldean line claimed to be the successors of the Assyrians, as these in their time had asserted the heirship to the old Babylonians. The Egyptians were regarded as intruders and usurpers in Palestine and Syria. It was also the view of the prophets of Jehovah in Israel that Nebuchadrezzar should rule instead of the Pharaoh (Jer., chaps. 25, 26). But Jehoiakim was a true vassal of Necho, and as Nebuchadrezzar

did not at once return from Babylon after his coronation (604 B. C.), the Judaites did not submit to the new order till the Babylonians appeared in force in 601 B. C. The Egyptians meanwhile had maintained a virtual alliance with Judah, in the vain hope of successful resistance to the Chaldeans, at whose approach they now vanished over the Isthmus.—*c*) *The first rebellion and captivity.* Nebuchadrezzar, to conciliate the Palestinians, did not treat Jehoiakim as a rebel, but merely demanded homage and tribute. Egypt, however, did not cease its machinations, and, in spite of prophetic warnings, Jehoiakim, after three years, was induced to withhold the tribute. The army of the great king appeared before Jerusalem. Jehoiakim himself died before the surrender. His son Jehoiachin, king for three months, with his mother, the nobles, and defenders of the city, the artificers, and all people of means, 10,000 in number, were deported to Babylonia, and settled beside the canal of Chebar, not far from Nippur (597 B. C.).—*d*) *The kingdom continued.* The royal household and the temple now alone remained in Jehovah's land as the rallying point of the nation. It was the policy of Nebuchadrezzar to enfeeble but not to obliterate the remnant of Israel, in spite of its disloyalty. Jerusalem was to be destroyed only as a last resort. He did not wish to colonize Judah with foreigners: the experiment had not succeeded in Samaria. Nor did he permit his vassals of Moab and Ammon, hostile as they were to Israel, to do anything more than help to curb its rebellion (2 Kings 24: 2). With the hope that it might still take his part against Egypt he, contrary to precedent, continued to it the semblance of autonomy, and raised to the throne a third son of Josiah, changing to Zedekiah his original name, Mattaniah. Under this last king of Judah, the city and country revived in some measure; and all might have been well but for the incurable infatuation that threw the court once more into the treacherous arms of Egypt.—*e*) *Final rebellion and exile.* It was in Zedekiah's ninth year that the fatal step was taken, and before its close Jerusalem was invested (January, 587). For a time the delusive hope prevailed in the city, against the true prophetic warning, that Jehovah would not forsake his temple and people. The

approach of an Egyptian army of relief seemed to justify them; but, after the manner of Egypt, it retired before the Chaldean army which temporarily withdrew to meet it. The reinvestment now brought a hopeless panic to the besieged. They supposed that even surrender would not appease the outraged suzerain. In vain the prophet Jeremiah insisted that surrender would be their only salvation. In July of 586 a breach was made in the walls on the north of the city. The king and his party escaped through the royal gardens into the Arabah road, but were there overtaken and brought to Nebuchadrezzar at Riblah. The city was burned to the ground, the temple plundered and likewise destroyed. At Riblah, where sentence was pronounced against all the rebels, Zedekiah and about sixty of the leading men were put to death. The second and final deportation was made, including nearly all of the responsible property holders. Babylonia itself was again the destination of the exiles. Some of the people, loyal to Babylon, and the proletariat, were left in the land, to keep it from becoming a waste. Over these was placed, at Mizpah, a native governor, Gedaliah, who, however, was soon assassinated by a fanatical, discontented Israelite at the instance of the hostile Ammonites. A remnant then betook themselves to the Egyptian borderland, accompanied by the prophet Jeremiah, who died in their midst, protesting against their persistent idolatry. This section of emigrants, unlike the Babylonian exiles, had no part in the national revival.

2. *Israel in the exile.*—To understand the subsequent history of Israel, the main features and events of the residence in Babylon are to be studied. We notice:—*a*) *The character of the Babylonian empire.* Nebuchadrezzar's long reign (604–562 B. C.) and his statesmanlike genius gave the Semitic world a period of combined peace and prosperity. His ambition was great, but was regulated by practical aims. He attempted no conquests outside of the Semitic nation and Egypt, its appendage. His chief energies were given to the development of the empire and the glory of Babylonia. His treatment of the subject states, even if rebels, aimed not at revenge, but the utilization of their services. Hence he granted the deported peoples

a large degree of freedom within their proper districts.—*b*) *The environment of the exiles.* The Judaites, as an industrious, energetic people, were wisely placed in Babylonia proper, where the most varied employments were open to them. It was a land of large cities and fruitful fields; one great plain intersected with many canals, large and small, that ran between the two main rivers or close beside them; many of them navigable, all of them serving for drainage and irrigation. Babylonia was at once the garden, the emporium, the workshop, and the university of Asia. The whole aspect of the country, a vast monotonous level, furnished to the immigrants an additional contrast with their own land of mountains and valleys and running brooks. Other novel features were the vast throngs of people engaged in trade and commerce, in manufactures, and in building operations of all sorts. Most impressive of all were the magnificent temples, each a scene of varied and elaborate religious rites, a center of the science and scholarship of the time, and even of business and monetary interests.—*c*) *Social and industrial condition of the exiles.* The two bands deported in 597 and 586 were placed not far apart from one another, so that they really made one community. The old Assyrian policy had aimed to disintegrate as well as to denationalize rebellious peoples. Nebuchadrezzar could afford to conserve them for the good of his larger state. He did not make slaves of all, or even of most, of these exiles, else they would have been at once absorbed in the Babylonian population. We know, indeed, that many of them engaged in business and attained to wealth. Moreover, like the modern Jews, by their abilities and pertinacity some of them forced their way to high positions in business and in the state.—*d*) *Their religious condition.* In general, if we wish to know the life of Israel in exile, we should fix our minds upon the life of Babylonia as a whole, especially that of the lower and middle classes. There is one department which we must except—that of religion. It is a great marvel of history that the Hebrews, unlike other peoples, did not dissolve and perish in exile. The chief reason was that they maintained their religion separately. It is a wonderful paradox that what Babylonia did to their hurt

in the centuries before the exile it undid in the years of banishment. Israel could superadd to a simple ritual, like that of Jerusalem, some of the more seductive features of the elaborate cult of Babylon. But to substitute the one for the other was found to be impossible. It was one thing to ape the foreign fashion; another thing to make it the habit of life. They recoiled from the rites and usages of the Babylonian religion, partly because these were strange and "unclean," partly because they were gross and revolting, and partly on account of surviving loyalty to Jehovah and his temple.—*e*) *Their religious development.* Hence one of the chief modes in which the Hebrews were influenced by Babylonia was this indirect influence upon their religion. Observe how special causes coöperated. (*a*) The loss of the temple and its services was not an unmixed evil. It was these that encouraged the old idolatrous or compromising practices in Jerusalem. On the other hand, the observances by which the religious habit was kept up, such as prayer, fasting, sabbath-keeping, were of themselves spiritual and purifying. It is true that in these very matters many became in large measure material and formal, and were rebuked therefor by their prophets; but reformation was in this sphere more feasible than in that of public ritual. Idolatry itself, and, indeed, some of the most abhorrent practices of the time and country, were followed by some of the people from first to last in Babylonia; but the true Israel, separated as the wheat from the chaff, grew ever stronger. (*β*) The prophetic word was vindicated and reinforced. The word of the prophets in the home-land, especially that of Jeremiah, had been verified, and Jeremiah's message to the first band of exiles in Babylonia (Jer., chap. 29) now came with convincing power as well as comfort. Ezekiel's utterance was not only stern against idolatry, but most timely and helpful in its assertion of individual responsibility. Now that the nation had perished, each man must and should stand for himself before God—a doctrine which created potentially the cause of religious and civil independence in human history. The "second Isaiah" united the duties of the present with hopes of the future. He preached that, while Jehovah was the God of Israel in spite of

the loss of the temple, he was also the God of the whole earth. Indeed, this was proved by providential care for his people away from Jehovah's land. His providence is universal and omnipotent, and will never fail his people. Israel itself is to be refined and saved through suffering. Hence the "suffering servant" is the minister of God and will be a ransom for many. —*f*) *Their political outlook.* Such teaching and preaching had its effect both in the religious and the political sphere. A practical turn was given to the promises of the future. That the remnant of Israel was to have a future seemed not incredible. A patriotic feeling was possible from the beginning. The little colony represented an organized state with a long and tragic history behind it, with a simple and elastic civil constitution adapted to the strain of all new conditions. King and court could be dispensed with in Israel alone among ancient monarchies. Reinstatement in the fatherland was the dream of the exiles almost from the beginning. This hope, though often rebuked, could not be foregone. The prospect of the nation's redemption through its suffering held out by the second Isaiah in the closing years fitted in well with the signs of the times. Babylon was decaying. The successors of Nebuchadrezzar understood nothing of ruling a great empire. Nabonidus, the last of them, was a religious and antiquarian devotee who neglected his state and people. Discontent was rife in Babylonia, and the Hebrews suffered greatly from the misgovernment. Cyrus, the Persian, who from being chief of a petty principality had become ruler of Media in 550, conqueror of Lydia and the Grecian colonies in 546, and was thus made master of hither Asia from the Persian gulf to the Ægean sea, was now announced by Isaiah as the coming deliverer. When in July, 538, Babylon opened to receive him as conqueror and king, the promised deliverance of Israel was at hand.

PERIOD IV. THE PERSIAN PROTECTORATE.

1. *Cyrus the Great.*—The chief factor in the new order of things was the personality of Cyrus. The times were ripe for a new adjustment; but he himself changed the age and the course

of history. His only compeers in influence in the ancient world are Alexander of Macedon and Julius Cæsar. His deeds are well known to all students. His character and work deserve special study. He was of Persian descent, with small hereditary possessions in Elam, but his spirit was cosmopolitan, and his genius fitted him to deal with all the heterogeneous races of the world. He swayed men and nations with equal facility and by the same sort of faculty, winning their allegiance by winning their hearts. He was magnanimous, considerate, tolerant, as well as wise and daring.

2. *The new policy.*—The character of Cyrus is monumentally transfused into the Persian policy. Tiglathpileser III, Nebuchadrezzar, and Cyrus stand for three oriental types of government. The first aimed to rule the people by denationalizing and disintegrating; the second by denationalizing and conserving; the third by local protection and personal oversight. His governors, like-minded with himself, were not mere tax-gatherers or slave-drivers. Appointed to guard the interests of their subjects, they became known as "benefactors" (Luke 22:25). Under him and his successors religious wars of the Assyrian or Semitic type were unknown. The peoples were protected, and even encouraged, in their own religions wherever his banner was seen. The regard which he showed for the Hebrews may have been due in part to sympathy with their spiritual religion, for he doubtless was a Zoroastrian; but he acknowledged also the rights of Merodach in Babylon, according to his own inscriptions.

3. *The Hebrews after the revolution.*—The most notable change of policy introduced by Cyrus was the reversal of the old Assyrian device of subduing by deportation. Possibly permission to return to their homes and the ancient shrines of their gods was given to others besides the Hebrews. But probably no others were in the mood, if any were in the position, to accept. At any rate, the favor shown to Israel was distinguished and lasting. The proclamation amounted to a general invitation to all Hebrews to return to Palestine, and substantial help for the journey was freely promised. Many availed themselves of the offer, and under the new governor, Zerubbabel, the great emigra-

tion took place. Henceforward for over a century we have to deal with peculiar political conditions which are often misconceived. Note: (1) Israel was not now in any sense a corporate unit, though one in sentiment, belief, and custom. (2) The moving force in Israel came often, not from Jerusalem, but from Babylon. Possibly not the majority of the Hebrews in Babylonia returned to Palestine. Certainly the richer and more influential part remained behind. Their motives were various. Some of the more prosperous were unwilling to relinquish their gains. Some held Zionism to be utopian. Some stayed behind, so as to better support their dependents in Palestine or in Babylonia. Some remained in positions of trust, so as to use their influence for the cause of Zion. These last performed perhaps the most signal and lasting service by their activity both in the old and in the adopted home. (3) Hence the development of Israel, or of Judaism, as we may now call it, was perhaps promoted as much by the Babylonian as by the Palestinian Hebrews. The intellectual, moral, and financial strength of Israel in Babylonia had its influence secured by the solidarity of the people of Jehovah in both communities. (4) The Persian government itself had much to do indirectly, and perhaps directly also, with the molding of both the civil and ecclesiastical life of the new Israel. Its paternal care for the provinces found expression in devising or promoting measures for the building up and strengthening of church and state organization.

4. *The new settlement.*—To follow in detail the progress of the restored Jerusalem is here impossible. The elements of the situation lie clearly before us. The difficulties were enormous, and long disappointment took the place of the first enthusiasm of the returning exiles. The conditions to be fulfilled were mainly these: (1) To build up the ecclesiastical system in the direction of the impulse already given in Babylonia. Deuteronomy had been the mainstay in the first part of the exile; the ideas and plans of Ezekiel took hold of the later generation and guided the beginnings of the new enterprise. (2) To keep free from contact with the heathen and semi-heathen peoples of Palestine. Hence the emphasis now placed on laws of uncleanness.

(3) To restore the temple and perpetuate a legal authoritative priesthood. (4) To baffle the machinations of the rival peoples around, and to retain the favor of the Persian court in spite of their intrigues and calumnies. (5) To defend the city against marauding bands; to give to Jerusalem security and dignity by restoring its walls and fortifications. (6) To quell internal feuds and assure equal justice to all classes of the people.

5. *The final achievement.*— Not one of these ends was attained without a weary struggle. Three generations passed ere the consummation came. Looking back from the era of Ezra and Nehemiah, we can only point to the delays induced by class dissensions and by popular indifference; the efforts of Zerubbabel and his helpers the prophets Haggai and Zachariah, ending in the completion of the temple under Darius; the interdicts of the imperial government secured by the slanders and artifices of the rival communities; the varying attitude of the court under Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, until the decisive favor of Artaxerxes Longimanus determined the political situation; the mission of Ezra and Nehemiah, under the auspices of Artaxerxes; the introduction of a completer and more drastic law by Ezra, which settled the status and duties of the several orders in church and state; the practical reforms of Nehemiah, without which the law could have neither footing nor sanction; the building of the wall, without which Jerusalem had scarcely been a city; the rising and falling of the Messianic hope, and the conversion of religious and patriotic fervor into the steady, well-regulated observance of precept and ritual.

Finally, we think of the story of Providence, of the completed Old Testament revelation, of the Jewish community keeping its faith during the four dark centuries; and as we look back upon the exiles beside the streams of Babylon, it is not too much for us to say that, while the triumphs of Cyrus shook the earth, the return of the little band of Hebrews to Zion shook, not the earth only, but also the heavens.

HISTORICAL MOVEMENTS IN ISRAEL FROM THE REFORM OF JOSIAH TO THE COMPLETION OF THE SECOND TEMPLE.

By Professor Edward T. Harper, Ph.D.,
Chicago Theological Seminary.

The campaigns of the Assyrians and Babylonians in Palestine might be compared to those catastrophes in the geological history of the earth which changed in a brief period the whole aspect of a country. Edom, Moab, Syria, and the rest of the petty nations were annihilated, for the policy of the Assyrians and Babylonians involved the social as well as the political destruction of the nations they conquered. These cruel foes from the north were not content to make their enemies tributary, but tore up conquered communities by the roots and dragged off the population to distant parts of the empire. Accustomed to communities composed of many different nationalities, we can scarcely understand the shock to society caused by such a deportation. At that time men of different races had not learned to live together. Each tribe possessed its own land, and its own god, and kinship was the bond that held the members together. Men of different tribes were natural enemies. Public justice, which is the essential condition of a heterogeneous population, was little developed, and private right still regulated social relations. To break down national boundaries in such a state of society, and throw men together promiscuously, meant ruin and confusion. Released from the restraints of kinship, men struggled for existence like wild beasts. Thinking men lost their national horizon, and, like the writer of Ecclesiastes, looked out "under the sun" and saw only chaos.

In the light of subsequent history, we see in these upheavals the beginning of a new age: national brotherhood must make room for the brotherhood of man, love of kindred for love of

humanity, national gods for the Lord of the whole earth; the soil was being prepared for the seeds of a universal religion, but to those who experienced the disasters all seemed darkness and ruin. Judah alone, of all the nations of Palestine, survived this overthrow, though she was totally changed by it. The old nation, with its mode of life, ideals, and temptations, was swept away. Not even the conquest of Canaan, with its accompanying transition from a nomadic to an agricultural mode of life, produced so radical a transformation. But the greatness of the change is not remarkable; it is only wonderful that Judah survived at all.

It is the purpose of this article to trace briefly the fortunes of Judah through the period of the destruction of the nation, the exile, and the restoration of the community in Jerusalem, and understand as well as we may the reason why Judah escaped the fate that befell her neighbors.

We note at the outset that it was not the nation which survived, but the faithful Jehovah worshipers in the nation. They already formed a religious sect, or church, within the nation. This prophetic party, as it has been called, had existed in Israel since the time of Samuel, and had waged a constant struggle against the unrighteous and worldly kings. In it had been the men whom the persecution of Ahab could not crush nor the worldly seductions of Jeroboam II blind. It is due to the fact of the existence of this church in Judah that she escaped the fate of her neighbors. The nation of Judah, with its worldly policies and false hopes, shared the destruction of those with whom it had always sought alliances. The nation was not changed by the exile into a religious community, but the community already existed in the nation, and it alone survived. The prophets themselves did not recognize this distinction, for separation between church and state was unthought of at that time. They of course clung to the idea of a return and a renewal of the old conditions, and utterly failed to see that being torn from home and tossed out into the world simply gave them opportunity to stand in a wider sphere for the same principles of righteousness which they had so bravely defended in their little nation. It was cen-

turies before they perceived their true mission — the mission which their own history had prophesied and was even then vainly striving to point out to their blinded eyes. Our interest, then, centers in the prophetic party in Israel, and it is their fortune we shall trace; and first we shall take up the last futile attempt of the prophets to reform the nation and the final fall of Jerusalem.

Never before had Judah sunk so deeply into the degradation of national corruption and idolatry as during the long reign of Manasseh. From the mountain top of triumph, when Sennacherib's army melted away before the destroying angel and the people in the delivered city voiced their faith and praise in the words of Pss. 46 and 48, they plunged into an excess of sin and shame. The sad tale is briefly told in 2 Kings, chap. 21. Hezekiah's reforms were annulled, Assyrian worship was introduced, and the blood of human sacrifices once more flowed on the altars of the cruel Moloch. The prophets were well-nigh crushed out. Tradition tells us that even Isaiah, the hero of the deliverance, suffered martyrdom at the hands of Manasseh. But after 640 B. C. the Assyrian empire began to weaken. Egypt revolted about this time, and when Josiah came to the throne of Judah, in 638, the old lion was terrible no longer. Released from his clutches, the western nations breathed again. Hopes of independence arose. Judah's mad rush after Assyrian ideals and customs ceased. The people began to feel ashamed of their attempt to Assyrianize themselves. A great revival of the worship of Jehovah followed. Prophets arose once more. Zephaniah took his text from the inroad of Scythians which flooded the Assyrian realms from 630 to 626 B C., and preached mightily the approach of the day of the Lord. Jeremiah received his call about the same time and preached those wonderful sermons to backslidden Israel recorded in chaps. 1–6 of his prophecy: "O Israel return unto Jehovah, break up your fallow ground. Return O back-sliding children saith Jehovah. For I am a husband to you. Acknowledge thine iniquity and I will not look in anger upon you: for I am merciful saith Jehovah."

The nation was deeply moved, and, led by the king, repairs were begun on the temple in 621 B. C. During the progress of

the work the book of Deuteronomy was discovered in the temple, and this gave a new direction and impulse to the reform. The account of the finding of the book, the consternation of the king on hearing it read, and the zeal with which its injunctions were carried out, form one of the most thrilling episodes in Israel's history. As we read Deuteronomy, we do not wonder at its powerful effect. The spirit of the prophets breathes from every page. With earnest pleading it tells of Jehovah's love for his chosen people, and recounts his benefits. It describes the base ingratitude of those who go whoring after other gods, and thunders forth curses on the disobedient nation, while it promises ideal blessing for those who fear and love Jehovah, their God.

The book bids them destroy all sanctuaries except the one which Jehovah should choose, to place his name there. No one doubted that the temple in Jerusalem was the sanctuary intended. The high places, though nominally Jehovah sanctuaries, had been given over to foreign customs till they were scarcely distinguishable from heathen temples, and the idea that the Jerusalem worship was alone legitimate was no new thing, for Hezekiah had undertaken a reform in line with that commanded in Deuteronomy one hundred years before. Fired with zeal by the book, the people went at the destruction of the high places with a will. For once the prophets, the Jerusalem priests, and the king worked together, and soon the high places throughout the length and breadth of the land were in ruins. Idolatry was blotted out, and the people returned with thanksgiving to Jerusalem and kept such a passover as had never before been seen in Israel. The young preacher Jeremiah seems to have thrown himself heart and soul into this reform, and, if we rightly interpret Jer. 11 : 1–8, he took upon himself a preaching tour through the cities of Jerusalem, preaching the words of the newly-found law and seeking to make the reform secure.

This reform of Josiah deserves more than a passing notice. It is a strange thing that anyone should have thought it possible for a whole nation to get along with only one place where they could worship their God. We seek to place a church in

every community, and can scarcely conceive of conditions which would make it beneficial for a whole nation to have but one temple. Such a reform naturally demanded radical changes in the manner, as well as the place, of worship, and an examination of the regulations in Deuteronomy will show the nature of these changes. The most far-reaching in its effects was that which allowed the sacrificial meal at each slaughter of animals for food to be given up and sacrifice separated from slaughter. But even if all necessary changes had been made, and the worship adapted to a single central sanctuary, we doubt if the people could long have continued without some sort of home worship. Forbidden to sacrifice, they would have done what they did at a later period under similar conditions, establish a synagogue service. For a people cannot exist without some sort of home worship.

But there was no time for the reform to encounter these difficulties. After a few troublous years Jerusalem was destroyed, and Judah's existence as a nation ceased. The actual results of the reform of Josiah were two. First, it cleared the ground of the old ritual of sacrifice, so that, when the people went into exile, they found themselves without a ritual for Jehovah worship. Sacrifice was forbidden, for no sacrifices could be offered to Jehovah outside the temple in Jerusalem, and that temple was in ruins and they were exiles in a distant land. They must invent a completely new ritual, and that ritual must not contain sacrifice. Thus the ritual took a great step forward. The simple synagogue service, with its prayer and praise, its reading and expounding of the sacred writings, which arose among the Jews in the dispersion, could never have been reached so easily had it not been for the clearing away of all the old forms of sacrifice caused by the reform of Josiah.

The second effect of the reform was not so wholly beneficial. It joined the prophets to the Jerusalem ritual and priesthood, and thus introduced the element of ceremony and ritual into prophetism. The glory of prophetism had been that it kept itself free from ritual and stood squarely upon righteousness of life as the one essential in the religion of Jehovah. The most awful of the prophetic denunciations had been pronounced upon those who

attempted to hide moral obliquity under a cloak of ritual. But now prophetism had produced Deuteronomy and lent its aid to make the form and the place of worship an essential element in true religion. We have in this the basis for the growth of that cermonialism which stifled prophetism and left Judaism an empty shell.

We know almost nothing of the events in Judah during the twelve years from the reform of Josiah to the battle of Megiddo. It would help us if we could determine certainly what addresses of Jeremiah came in this period, but that is well-nigh impossible. The reform was undoubtedly successful, and the hopes of the prophets ran high. Now at last apostasy from Jehovah was rendered impossible. The Assyrians, too, were weakening year by year, and Judah felt again the hope of political independence. Jehovah had taken full punishment on Israel. The nation had repented and the glorious times were dawning. It was perhaps in this period that Nahum voiced the joy of the nation over the speedy downfall of Nineveh, as he saw the old enemy of Israel weaken and her destroyers gather closer about her year by year. How high these hopes had arisen, and the wild ambitions they had awakened, is seen in Josiah's rash attempt to oppose Pharaoh Necho of Egypt when he marched north to look after his share of the booty when Assyria fell. Little Judah dared to stand in the way of the second great nation of the world. The foolhardiness of this act was shown by the sequel and is recognized by the chronicler in his account of the battle. Judah's hopes were dashed. Josiah's rashness cost him his life. Necho on his return to Egypt took away Jehoahaz, whom the people had allowed to succeed his father, and put another son of Josiah, who was friendly to himself, on the throne of Judah. Dismay fell upon the prophets. It was a terrible blow to Jeremiah, and his grief is recorded by the chronicler: "Jeremiah wept for Josiah." With an Egyptian vassal on the throne, who at once established a royal court and indulged in luxury and oppression, the reform of Josiah was doomed. The last hope for the survival of the nation was gone. The fall of Nineveh, the rise of Babylon, and the battle of Carchemish, which followed in quick succession, con-

vinced Jeremiah that there was no hope and Judah must go into captivity. How hard it was for him to yield is seen in his prayers for Israel, Jer., chaps. 14–15, which may well have been made about this time. Not till Jehovah answers that even if Moses and Samuel should pray for Israel he would not hear, does the prophet cease his pleading and the sad conviction enter his heart: "The summer is over, the harvest is passed, and we are not saved." But there is no time for grief now. A duty is before him. He banishes from his mind the happy years when, with the king and priest on his side, it seemed that the salvation of Israel was coming, and takes up what had always been the rôle of a true prophet in Israel, standing alone against a wicked king and a blind people, and announcing to them their doom.

Jeremiah saw that the people must go into exile, and when the news of Nebuchadrezzar's victory at Carchemish, 605 B. C., reached Jerusalem, he knew that it was Babylon to which they must go. At once he preached a great sermon, Jer., chap. 25, in which he holds to the lips of the rebellious people the cup of the fury of Jehovah. And then, because he was forbidden to speak openly, he wrote out his message on a roll and had it read in the gates of the city. The fate of this roll and the full account of Jeremiah's experience in the prison and in the dungeon, accused as a traitor and yet feared and courted by the weak king from this time till the final fall of Jerusalem in 586 B. C., are told with wonderful vividness and minuteness of detail in Jer., chaps. 36–39. The city was twice besieged by Nebuchadrezzar, once in 597 when 10,000 of the best people were carried away, and again in 586 when the whole city was totally destroyed. Jer., chaps. 40–43, tells of the anarchy which prevailed in the land after the city had been destroyed and a large part of the population dragged off to Babylon, and how the remnant left in the land with Jeremiah were finally compelled to take refuge in Egypt.

The nation of Israel was now gone. The city was in ruins, the temple razed to the ground, the people scattered in Babylon and Egypt. But we need not mourn the loss of the nation, for it had fulfilled its mission. It had been the nursery in which

Jehovah had reared his people. The people of prophetism had been fostered in its bosom. The nation had not always recognized prophetism as her child. She had in madness and folly many times sought to strangle her own offspring. But the child had grown strong, and now it was able to go out into the world. It no longer needed the shelter of the nation, and the nation, blind to her noble mission as mother to the people of God, paid a penalty like to that which Judaism was to suffer when it rejected the Messiah. All that was good in Judaism passed over into Christianity, and so now all in the nation of Israel that was capable of immortality was preserved among the prophets in exile.

We come now to our second division, the remnant in exile. The prophets had long called the faithful few in Israel the remnant, and this is a good designation for those who in exile remained true to Jehovah; for only the faithful stood any chance of surviving. The multitudes of those who lapsed were as completely lost as their neighbors from Syria and Edom.

The material condition of the exiles was not unfavorable. They were in no sense slaves. Rabshakah's promise to the people of Jerusalem, if they would submit to Sennacherib, contained much truth. "Make your peace with me, and come out to me; and eat ye everyone of his vine, and everyone of his fig tree. . . . . until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards." As soon as the shock of the transfer was over, they found the opportunity for material advancement even greater than at home. The policy of Babylonia made foreign birth no bar to advancement under the empire. Native qualities soon brought the Jews to the front in whatever land they were thrown. And later, when the attempt was made to reëstablish the nation, a great hindrance to its success was that the Jews found it a sacrifice to give up their lucrative positions and go back to live in poverty-stricken Judah, and only intense religious zeal induced any to do so. But this prosperity made it all the more difficult for them to keep their identity. The Jews of the northern kingdom who suffered a similar fate under Sargon a century and a half

earlier were already largely lost. The preservation of the exiles from Judah was due largely to the work of two men, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. We too often conceive Jeremiah's mission as simply to bewail the fall of his people, forgetting that in his commission, Jer. 1 : 10, he is also told, "To build, and to plant." He not only sent the Jehovah worshipers into exile with the promise of return ringing in their ears, and actually set the duration of the exile at seventy years, but he first taught the exiles to consider themselves as the true remnant of Jehovah's people. The earlier prophets had taught that the remnant would be left in the land. The ones purged out were the wicked. But soon after the first deportation and before Jerusalem fell, Jeremiah saw that the hope for the religion of Jehovah lay with the exiles, and by a telling illustration he turned the popular notion about. The exiles were the good figs, *i. e.*, the true remnant, while those left in the land were bad figs and doomed to destruction, Jer., chap. 24. Jeremiah's high hopes for these exiles are revealed in his letter to them (Jer. 29 : 11, 12). After the destruction of Jerusalem Jeremiah, as we have seen, went with those Jews who found refuge in Egypt. An example of his work in Egypt is preserved in Jer. 44, and he undoubtedly had a great influence in the establishment of Judaism there. The Egyptian Jews took little part in rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem. According to Josephus, Nebuchadrezzar did not allow them to stay there, but took them to Babylon when he conquered Egypt. But however this may be, in later times Egypt was one of the chief centers of Judaism, and to the Jews in Egypt we owe our Septuagint translation of the Scriptures.

Ezekiel's work was with the remnant which went to Babylon. He was among those carried away to Babylon in the first deportation. The fifth year after he saw the vision of Jehovah and received his commission as "watchman unto the house of Israel,' with Jehovah's warning, "Son of man, when I say unto the wicked thou shalt surely die; and thou givest him not warning . . . . the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand."

With the awful importance of his message burning in his

heart, Ezekiel began preaching to the exiles in Tel Abib. With a wonderful wealth of imagination he depicted the glory of Israel's God, Jehovah. In a series of visions he recounts the abominations going on in Jerusalem and shows how Jehovah was leaving the wicked city to its fate. After the fall of the city the tone of his preaching changed, and he sought to inspire his companions with the hope that the nation would be restored. He told them that the "remnant of Jehovah" was in their keeping and their faithfulness would be rewarded by the restoration of the fallen city. The last chapters of his prophecy describe the purified city as she will appear when, all the sins of the nation atoned for, the righteous remnant returns in triumph to their native land.

The early years of the exile were a period of rapid change. The new conditions broadened the views of the people and put them face to face with new problems. Two things helped on the changes: the fact that the exiles were no longer a nation and the fact that they were without a ritual. As a religious sect they could carry out their religious ideals unhampered by the political restrictions unavoidable in a nation. And the impossibility of continuing their previous forms of worship left them free to develop a new ritual adopted to their new needs. This was the formative period of Judaism. Then the institutions were born which in later times, after the life had passed out of them into Christianity, hardened into those rites and dogmas which constitute Judaism, a dead formalism over which centuries pass without recording a change. We can only briefly note a few of the lines along which this development took place.

First they produced a new ritual. We have already seen why they could not take their national ritual with them into exile. There is no definite information as to the real beginning of synagogue service. But it is not difficult to imagine how the exiles began to worship in their new homes. We know that the band of elders used to meet in Ezekiel's house to hear messages from the prophet and talk over their hopes. Psalms 42–43 seem to have been written between the first and second deportations and show us a faithful servant of Jehovah in exile, homesick

for the temple worship, yet singing his song, and making a prayer to Jehovah in his exile home. Daniel is represented as keeping a season of prayer three times a day. Even thus early we may trace the antecedents of the synagogue service and what an advance there was in all that elevates and ennobles over the old ritual of animal sacrifice.

Again there was a great clearing of vision as to the nature of the past history of their nation. They saw now the true meaning of the national experiences. And sadly they recognized the fact that it was the sins of their fathers, the persistent apostasy from Jehovah, that had lost for them their native land. A zeal for studying their history arose, and within thirty years after the fall of Jerusalem they had collected and edited the historical records of their nation, producing the great historical work of Judges, Samuel, and Kings. This history must have been completed by 550 B. C., as it concludes with the liberation of Jehoiachin by Evil-Merodach in 558.

We must remember the standpoint of the exiles to enable us to judge this history rightly. Doubtless they viewed many things as sins which were not so clearly perceived to be so by those who took part in them. They could now pass judgment on their past in a way no contemporary could have done. And to this must be added the fact that they now viewed the past trom the standpoint of the deuteronomic reform and considered that all Jehovah sanctuaries outside of Jerusalem had been sinful. But if we make allowance for their point of view, we find the deuteronomic history, as it is called, full of the most lofty lessons in religion and righteousness, and infinitely more valuable for us than any bare chronicle of events could possibly be. It is history seen through the eyes of Jehovah's prophets.

Once more the early experiences of the exiles gave them a deeper view of the nature of true religion. They had broken the old covenant which Jehovah had made with Moses and which was based on obedience. They had not obeyed, and Jehovah had sent upon them the punishment their prophets had predicted. The old covenant of works was gone. Even before Jerusalem fell Jeremiah had begun to preach a new covenant

based on repentance. Jehovah would take away their old disobedient heart and give them a new heart. "Behold the days come, saith Jehovah, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah, not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; which my covenant they brake. . . . . But this is the covenant I will make with the house of Israel after these days, saith the Lord; I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it" (Jer. 31:31–33).

This new view of religion led to a deepening of their view as to their mission and prepared for the wonderful teaching regarding the "Servant of Jehovah" in Isa., chaps. 40–66. This was the loftiest conception to which Israel's prophets attained. Israel was Jehovah's servant and the exile was the school in which she was being trained for her mission. The lessons which would fit her for this mission could only be learned through suffering. Here was the answer of the deepest religious thought in Israel to the problems of the exile.

The new view of their mission worked a revolution in the ideas regarding the Messiah. Hitherto he had been depicted as a glorious king who was to come and smite his enemies and usher in a reign of peace. But now the prophet proclaims that the way of the nation must also be the way of the Messiah. His mission, too, must be accomplished through suffering. "He was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, ... the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all." And to the suffering Messiah this inspired seer gives all the promises foretold to the ruling son of David. "I will make an everlasting covenant with you even the sure mercies of David." And when the suffering Messiah goes forth to fulfil his mission, "He shall not cry nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgment in truth." What if the Jews did forget this ideal in the years that followed and go back once more to their dreams of earthly might and triumph. The ideal was laid up

against the time when he should come who could alone fulfil it. The church as well has been prone to forget the nature of Jesus' mission and feast itself with hopes of a time when the gentle Savior shall come again in wrath and smite his foes with physical force.

Along such lines as these the Jews exiled in different countries developed. Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah are evidence of the characters they produced and the influence they exerted in the lands to which they had been carried. One thing held them back from the natural fruitage of these tendencies. The prophecies of the golden age were all bound up with the temple in Jerusalem. The vision of the old prophets had been necessarily limited by the conditions of their age. We can see the form of the hope these prophets had bequeathed to the exiles in such prophecies as Isa. 2:2–4, found also in Mic. 4:1–3. Mount Zion was to be the center of the earth, all nations were to come thither to learn the law of Jehovah, and thence was righteousness and peace to flow out over all the earth. The golden age was thus limited to the land and people of Israel. The prophet in Isa., chaps. 40–66, does not break through these limitations. On the contrary, they filled and inspired his soul. And it was to arouse his kinsmen to seize the first opportunity to return and build Jerusalem that he wrote this wonderful book. More than this, Jeremiah had definitely promised the exiles that they should return, and Ezekiel had devoted a large section of his prophecy to a description of the rebuilt city and reorganized nation.

The overthrow of the Babylonians by the Persians under Cyrus brought with it the long-hoped-for opportunity. The prophet hailed him as the messenger whom Jehovah had sent to release his people and send them back to their beloved city. We need not suppose Cyrus himself was a Jehovah worshiper. The lately discovered inscriptions of Cyrus do not show that he had any particular knowledge of or interest in Judah. He simply recognized the folly of the policy of his predecessors in deporting conquered communities and gave a general permission to exiles to return to their homes. Cyrus' own writings also totally disprove the story of Herodotus as to the siege of Babylon and the turn-

ing aside of the river Euphrates. Babylon opened her gates to Cyrus of her own accord, and the conqueror entered the city "without a battle." The close parallel between what the Babylonian scribe and the writer of Isa., chap. 45, says of Cyrus is remarkable and shows how even in Babylon the Persian conqueror was welcomed. On the Cyrus cylinder we have the description of the wrong done to the Babylonian gods, and then the writer continues: "He (the god Merodach) pitied them, he searched all lands and sought out a righteous prince to take him by the hand. He called Cyrus by name and proclaimed his universal rule." Isa. 45:1 ff. reads: "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him. . . . . I have called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee though thou hast not known me."

Under this ruler it was easy for the Jews to obtain permission to return and build their fallen temple, and as Cyrus allowed other peoples to take back the idols which Nabonidos had brought into Babylon from the different cities of Babylonia, so the Jews were permitted to take with them the gold and silver vessels which Nebuchadrezzar had plundered from the temple. The eagerness with which the Jews seized this opportunity is seen by the fact that within a year after Cyrus entered Babylon a band of exiles were on their way back to Jerusalem.

There is much uncertainty regarding the events of the early years of the restoration. He who would understand the problems that face a student of the history of Israel should attempt to straighten out the course of events from the return under Zerubbabel to the time of Nehemiah. The difficulty is that our principal source of information is the book of Ezra, which is a compilation from different documents made at least 200 years after the events it describes, and the compiler appears to have put the documents together without careful attention to the chronological order of events. The one thing we are sure of is that the temple was completed by Zerubbabel in the sixth year of Darius, 516 B. C., for that is confirmed by the writing of the contemporary prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, whose preaching inspired the exiles to undertake the work. With this exception

there is hardly an event in this time which has not been called in question, and a recent critic has attempted to discredit the whole of Ezra's narrative and affirms that there was no return at all under Cyrus, and the temple was rebuilt by those Jews who had been in the land since the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. We cannot enter this discussion. George Adam Smith, in his second volume on the Minor Prophets, has considered the arguments carefully. As yet we see no more probable order of events than the traditional one. The exiles set up the altar on their return in 537 B. C., but opposition hindered the furtherance of the work during the reigns of Cambyses and Pseudo-Smerdis, and not till Darius came to the throne did they begin in earnest to build the temple. The temple was then completed in 516 B. C.

The story of the struggle of the colony in Jerusalem in striving to rebuild the temple and keep the fire kindled on Jehovah's altar is a sad one. And more so because it was a struggle against fate. They knew not the meaning of their own feelings, and their eyes were blind to the significance of the prophecies they were striving to fulfil. The times had grown beyond a national religion and a ritual of animal sacrifice. The promise for the future was not on the altar in the temple, but in the pulpit in the synagogue. And yet they could not recognize the signs of the time and measured the fulfilment of their hope by their success in resuscitating the dead past. They tried to compress the visions of Isaiah into the house on Zion, and when they saw they could not they fell to weeping. And some doubted and said the dream of the ancient seers was but a dream and never could be realized. And yet they toiled on for centuries and kept the building there and kept the sacrificial fire kindled until the light broke forth and showed them what those glorious visions and the burning hopes within them really meant.

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE HEBREWS FROM JOSIAH TO EZRA.

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The social life of any people is interesting and important. Nothing so truly shows the actual civilization of a nation as the relations of its people one to another in daily life. The ideal community is that whose members are governed by the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." An investigation of the social structure of any nation soon shows its degree of conformity to that ideal.

People who have written about the social life of the East usually explain past conditions by present; what they see in the East today they assume to have been there always; the stationary character of oriental civilization has become a commonplace. But the subject assigned to me assumes that the unchanging character of eastern life may be pressed further than the facts warrant.

It is undoubtedly true that the conservative spirit is predominant in the Orient. The sons do pretty much as the fathers did generation after generation. But there have been epochs in Hebrew history when new forces proved too strong for the spirit of conservatism, and so new conditions have arisen. The change, for example, that was produced among the Hebrew tribes by the conquest of Canaan was very great. The Hebrews conquered the Canaanite territory, but the Canaanite civilization in turn conquered them. Not, indeed, without a struggle. A nomadic people never changed its flocks for land without vigorous resistance to the overwhelming forces of progress. The story of the Rechabites (Jer., chap. 35) is one of the many testimonies to a people's persistence in the traditions of its fathers.

In the period from Josiah to Ezra the Hebrews passed through the most remarkable experience of their whole career. Contact with the great empires on the Tigris and Euphrates had been had long before; but it was for the most part a hostile contact, and not productive of great influence. The Jews had carried tribute to Assyria and to Babylon ever since the time of Jehu (842 B. C.); but they had not done this for the purpose of studying and using foreign fashions. In the exile, however, conditions were such that it would be little short of miraculous if the social life of the Hebrews had not been greatly affected. The contact in Babylonia was hostile, it is true, but it was nevertheless too close to be successfully resisted. The Jews in Babylonia had a great deal more freedom than is generally supposed. The exile was not a strict bondage.[1] Restrictions as to residence were undoubtedly rigid; but within the provinces assigned, the Jews lived in colonies with opportunities to develop their new life as they saw fit.[2]

In the days of King Josiah (638–608 B. C.) the Hebrew nation seemed to take a new lease of life. His unhappy death in a hopeless and almost inexplicable conflict with the Egyptians prepared the way for the rapid decline which culminated in the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B. C. In the time of Ezra, beginning 458 B. C., the Jews were engaged in the hard struggle to reëstablish themselves as a respectable power among the dependencies of the great Persian empire. As they had already been engaged in that attempt for three-quarters of a century, fairly fixed conditions in the life of the people may be assumed.

It is not the purpose of this article to try to establish the thesis that the social life of the Hebrews was greatly changed by the influence of the Babylonian civilization; but to exhibit the data which the Old Testament affords as a basis of judgment. Conclusions will be drawn sparingly, and only with the warrant of sure facts. If the change appears slight, it cannot at once be concluded that the Babylonian influence was *nil*, for the material is rather scanty, and the Jewish writers of the later ages, like

[1] See STADE, *Geschichte*, II, 3 ff.

[2] See Jer. 29:5 ff.

modern travelers, were impressed with the idea that whatever is has always been, and accordingly were wont to ascribe to previous ages conditions prevailing in their own.

Another difficulty which besets the historical study of Jewish institutions is the uncertainty which still prevails regarding the

BEDOUIN TENT

date of some of the sources. The recent tendency to push literature into the post-exilic age must be reckoned with. Uncertain critical assumptions will be avoided as far as possible.

The inquiry will begin at home in the most literal sense, with the domestic relations of the Hebrews of this period. It will be convenient to classify results under certain obvious divisions.

1. *The position of women.*—Speaking generally, the Hebrew woman occupied a position much inferior to that of the man. Her place was in private life, where as the wife and mother, and as the toiler, she must find the sphere of her existence. But at

times we find women occupying positions of great importance. Huldah was a prophetess contemporary with Jeremiah. Though he had attained a position of prominence when the law-book was found in 621 B. C., it was not to him, but to Huldah, that King Josiah sent to know how to avert the wrath with which the new law threatened his kingdom (2 Kings 22 : 14).

Women were denounced by the prophets because of their pernicious influence in introducing foreign worship[3]—a fact which speaks for their power. Women as well as men exercised the office of prophet down to the last days of the kingdom (Ezek. 13:17 ff.). In the time of Nehemiah we find that women aided in the rebuilding of the walls,[4] though they are not found in public positions in this period.

In the simpler life of the earlier days women as well as men had gone to the local sanctuaries to partake of the sacred feasts (1 Sam., chap. 1); in the time of Ezra women were at the assembly at which the laws were promulgated (Neh. 8 : 3; *cf.* 10:28); but it appears from Deuteronomy[5] that only the males were required to go up to Jerusalem for the annual feasts (16:16).

Jewish women usually wore a large number of various kinds of ornaments (Jer. 2 : 32; *cf.* Isa. 3 : 18 ff.). Trumbull has sought an explanation of this in the fact that the married woman preserved her property in the shape of ornaments and coins on her person in order that she might not lose it in case of summary divorce.[6]

The woman was to find her chief glory in married life, particularly as the mother of children. Widowhood was looked upon as a reproach (Isa. 54 : 4). That the childless wife had a

[3] Jer. 7 : 18; 44 : 15 ff.; Ezek. 8 : 14; *cf.* 2 Kings 23 : 7; Deut. 17 : 2.

[4] It may be, as Bertheau holds, that "daughters" in the passage in question, Neh. 3 : 12, means *villages*, as often elsewhere; but there is much to be said in favor of Ryle's view that women are meant: see *Camb. Bib., in loc.*

[5] Deuteronomy is assigned to the age of Josiah; for the reasons see the writer's article on "The Origin and Character of Deuteronomy," BIBLICAL WORLD, April, 1898, pp. 246–54.

[6] *Studies in Oriental Social Life*, p. 322.

hard lot to endure, especially if there were other wives, witnesses the story of Hannah (1 Sam., chap. 1; *cf.* Jer. 18:21; 22:30). Two Psalms of the early post-exilic period express the happiness of the man whose wife bore him many sons (127; 128).

PLOUGHING

The amount of labor required of women varied with their social position. There were certain classes which lived in luxury, to whom manual labor was quite unknown (Deut. 28:56; Isa. 47:1). The finer qualities of a woman's nature are distinctly recognized, though not often dwelt upon. The great prophet of the exile can find nothing fitter than a mother's love to express his conception of God's love for Israel (Isa. 49:15; *cf.* 66:13).

The Israelites had a high conception of the purity of women. The prophets continually compare Israel to the wretched harlot. Israel wanders from Jehovah as the faithless woman from her

husband.[7] Prenuptial infidelity was punishable by death; but the husband whose charge was refuted by the woman's parents was punishable with chastisement and fine and the loss of the right of divorce (Deut. 22:13 ff.). The death penalty was imposed upon the woman, either married or betrothed, who was taken *in flagranti delicto*, unless the crime was committed under circumstances which presumed helplessness on her part (*ibid.*, vss. 23 ff.; *cf.* John 8:3 ff.). The daughter of a priest who played the harlot was to be burned with fire, according to a law not earlier than the exile (Lev. 21:9).

2. *Marriage.*—There was no class of men in Israel to whom marriage was forbidden. The Nazirite, the priest, and the Levite were as free as other men to take wives.[8] Notwithstanding a popular notion to the contrary, monogamy was the general practice.[9] There was no law against polygamy, perhaps not even a sentiment against it; but for whatever reason plurality of wives was comparatively rare. The kings, indeed, generally had a number of wives, though we find a law against an excessive number even for them (Deut. 17:17). There is a law regulating the right of the firstborn if he were not the son of the favorite wife (Deut. 21:15 ff.). But in many cases we know that even men of wealth had but a single wife. Job is described as possessing all manner of wealth and greatness, but he had but one wife. It does not seem to be true, as often asserted, that the number of a man's wives was measured by his wealth.

It is very likely that Jewish practice changed in this respect. Most of the cases in which plurality of wives is known occur in the earlier period. There is no case known to me in which it is stated of a Jew in the later part of our period that he had more than one wife.

In the pre-exilic period there seems to have been no objection to foreign wives. In many cases we know that Hebrews married

[7] See Jer. 3:2 f.; 8:20; 5:7 f.; 13:27; Ezek. 16:15 ff.; 23; Zeph. 5:11; Nah. 3:4; Isa. 13:16; 57:3 ff.

[8] The strong feeling against eunuchs (Deut. 23:1) shows that every man was expected to be the head of a family. This feeling abated somewhat in the later time, when many Hebrews had been slaves in the harems of their masters (Isa. 56:3 ff.).

[9] See HASTINGS, *Bib. Dict.*, art. "Family;" NOWACK, *Heb. Arch.*, I, 159.

aliens without blame. Deuteronomy provides that a warrior may select a fair captive as a wife (20:14; 21:10).[10] In the post-exilic period there were many such marriages with foreign women, but we find a strong sentiment, and also vigorous action, against it (Ezr., chaps. 9, 10; Neh. 6:18; 10:30; 13:23 ff.; Mal. 2:11). Jewish women were undoubtedly scarce in the new community at Jerusalem. It appears that Ezra's company was made up exclusively of males (8:3 ff.). In spite of the vigorous action of Ezra and Nehemiah, this practice was only broken up after a hard struggle.

A man who had betrothed a wife was exempt from military service (Deut. 20:7); the exemption continued for a year after the marriage; during this time he was free from any kind of public service (Deut. 24:5; *cf.* Luke 14:20).

One of the most persistent institutions in Israel was the Levirate marriage. We find it in the patriarchal age (Gen., chap. 38); it is carefully defined in Deuteronomy 25:5 ff. to be obligatory only in case an older brother left no male issue, and the brothers lived on the same estate; we find it with a wider scope referred to in Ruth 4:5, 10, and on the basis of Deuteronomy also in the New Testament (Matt. 22:24 ff.).

There is little material in our sources to show the relation between the husband and wife. Nehemiah appeals to the people building the wall to fight for their brethren, their sons and daughters, their wives and their houses (4:14). "Malachi" holds up an ideal married life as an appeal to the husband—the wife of a man's youth was his companion, and the wife of his covenant, against whom he should not deal treacherously (2:14); we find the expression "the wife of thy bosom" (Deut. 13:6). But there was not much in the way of the domestic happiness which makes the charm of the modern family circle. The wife often had considerable influence over the husband, but, as we have seen, did not always use it for good purposes.

While there was no repugnance to the marriage of widows

[10] Deuteronomy, indeed, expressly forbids marriage with foreigners, either men or women, 7:3; if this passage is as early as Josiah, it at all events produced no impression before the time of Ezra.

(Jer. 8:10), it is evident from the frequent mention in Deuteronomy and the prophets of the orphan and the widow as objects of charity that is was no unusual thing for a woman to have to bear the reproach of widowhood. Ezekiel's law forbids a priest to marry a widow or a divorced woman, except the widow of a priest (44:22). In the Law of Holiness[11] the priest is permitted to marry anyone except a harlot or a divorced woman. The high priest—who is not mentioned in Ezekiel—was allowed to marry only a virgin of his own people (Lev. 21:7, 13 f.). The prohibition of marriage with near blood relations (Lev. 18:6 ff.; 20:10 ff.) was apparently a late development. Tamar saw no objection to marriage with her half-brother, and assumed that David would consent (2 Sam. 13:13).[12]

3. *Divorce.*—The wife was looked upon as the property of the husband. The Hebrew term for husband is *ba'al*, "owner," for the wife *bĕ'ūlah*, "owned." In the Decalogue the wife is mentioned in a catalogue of property which one must not covet. The version in Exodus names the house before the wife (20:17); but Deuteronomy names the wife first (5:31). The greatest horror was felt at infidelity on the part of the wife.[13] The invasion of property rights probably had something to do with this. It was but natural, therefore, that the husband should have the absolute right of divorce. The wife was either a slave, a captive, or had been purchased, though the purchasing of wives seems to have ceased in the post-exilic period.[14] Freedom of divorce prevailed throughout Jewish history; it is found in New Testament times (Matt. 1:19; 5:31). No special

[11] Lev., chaps. 17–26. This law is in a measure separated by its peculiarities from the priest code in which it is embodied. It probably belongs to the period of the exile. On this law see DRIVER, *Introd.*, 47 ff., where other references will be found.

[12] The only forbidden degree in Deuteronomy is marriage with one's stepmother (22:30; *cf.* Ezek. 22:10, and see WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, second edition, p. 369).

[13] W. R. SMITH, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 117, says that in Arabia the husband was entirely indifferent to his wife's fidelity; this was certainly not the case with the Hebrews. The beautiful picture of the faithful woman in Prov. 31:10 ff. testifies to the Hebrew ideal.

[14] See NOWACK, *Heb. Arch.*, I, 156.

grounds were considered necessary. If a man tired of his wife, he could easily get rid of her and take another. It was the custom of the later times, even before the exile, to give the woman a written decree of separation (Deut. 24 : 1; Isa. 50 : 1); but the husband issued this decree without the intervention of

SENNACHERIB AT THE HEAD OF HIS ARMY *Perrot and Chipiez*
(British Museum)

any outside authority. The wife had no such rights; she had no power to put away her husband (BENZINGER, *Heb. Arch.*, p. 341).

There were a few limitations placed upon the husband's right of divorce. A man could not remarry his divorced wife if she had been the wife of another since her divorce (Deut. 24 : 3 f.; *cf.* Jer. 3 : 1). If a man divorced a wife who had been a captive, and so a slave, he could not hold her in bondage, but must let her go free (Deut. 21 : 14). If he had unjustly charged his wife with prenuptial infidelity, he lost the right of divorce (22 : 19). If a man was detected in criminal association with an unbetrothed virgin, he was obliged to buy her as a wife, and might never put her away (*ibid.*, vs. 29).

In the post-exilic period there is a kind of divorce without

parallel in the earlier history. Ezra and Nehemiah constrained the people, including some priests and other dignitaries, to divorce the foreign wives whom they had taken (Ezr., chaps. 9, 10; Neh. 13:23 ff.). Ezra at first made the attempt to accomplish this in a popular assembly; it was finally effected in a divorce court (Ezr. 10:16). The court was not considered necessary to legalize the divorce, but to make sure that all that had taken foreign wives should put them away. The book of Ruth is a protest against this spirit, and the prophet "Malachi," probably a contemporary of Nehemiah, represents Jehovah as saying, "I hate putting away."[15]

4. *Children.*—The Hebrew's appreciation of children is well shown in one of the Pilgrim Psalms:

> Lo, children are an heritage of the Lord;
> And the fruit of the womb is his reward.
> As arrows in the hand of a mighty man,
> So are the children of youth. (127:3 f.)

The cruelty to their children—a common thing in Semitic war—was one of the offenses of Babylon which long rankled in the embittered souls of the exiles (Ps. 137:8 f.). Sons were always esteemed above daughters. The announcement that a man child was born made the father very glad (Jer. 20:15); but there is no evidence of such joy when a girl was born. The son perpetuated the father's house and name. For a man to die without male issue meant the grave misfortune of the extinction of his name. Levirate marriage was an institution designed to prevent this.

The children were esteemed above the wife. The book of Job conceives every misfortune for the patriarch: his property is destroyed; he is smitten with disease; his sons and daughters

[15] 2:16. This passage is indeed obscure. GEORGE ADAM SMITH, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, II, 344, supposes that the Jews had put away their native wives in order to marry half-heathen women of the land, and that "Malachi" refers to the putting away of these Jewish wives as "dealing treacherously with the wife of one's youth." But the marriages are always of Jewish men with foreign women. We hear nothing of Jewesses marrying foreigners, except in Neh. 13:25—an obvious quotation from Deut. 7:3. It is not unlikely, therefore, that we may give this late prophet credit for a higher ideal of marriage than was possessed by the zealous Ezra, or the Hebrew people before his time.

are slain; but his wife is left to him. The wife was valued chiefly as the mother of children (Ps. 128:3). The peace and prosperity of the Messianic times are marked by "the streets of the city being full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof" (Zech. 8:4).

TRIBUTE OF JEHU, 842 B. C.
(From the Biack Obelisk of Shalmaneser)

The children lived under pretty close restraint. The mother was their chief companion. From a statement in the memoirs of Nehemiah (13:24) it would appear that the fathers then had more to do with their children's daily life than had been the custom formerly. Nehemiah's objection to the foreign marriages was based on the discovery that the children did not speak Hebrew, but a wretched *patois*, "half in the speech of Ashdod."

In the earlier times strict obedience was exacted of the children. "Honor thy father and thy mother" meant more than holding them in reverent esteem. Deuteronomy provides the death penalty for the son who would not obey his parents (21:18 ff.). The sons of David were not permitted to go away from home without the king's permission, even when they were grown men.

Children as well as women might be kept as prizes of war

(Deut. 20 : 14); but often they were slain by their cruel captors, or were the victims of unnatural mothers or of helpless fathers (Lam. 4 : 10; Jer. 47 : 3).

5. *Slaves.*—There was no restriction of the right of the master over foreign slaves. He was, indeed, enjoined to treat his slaves with consideration; but this was only a moral obligation. There were many foreign slaves in Israel as a result of war, and of the slave trade which flourished at least as early as Amos. Hebrew slaves were on a different footing. Deuteronomy prescribes that these shall be set free after six years of service, unless they voluntarily elect to remain permanently with their masters. With his liberty the freedman was to be furnished with such supplies as would make it possible for him to make a fresh start in life — the Hebrew becoming a slave as the result of debt (Deut. 15 : 12 ff.). There was, however, no fugitive slave law. If a slave effected his escape, he was not to be given back to his master[16] (Deut. 23 : 15). Precautions were taken against forcing men into bondage illegally, by making that offense punishable by death (Deut. 24 : 7).

The deuteronomic law was more liberal than the earlier regulations, which limited the release to males, and to their wives only if they had been married when they were bought (Ex. 21 : 2 ff.). But the later Law of Holiness aimed virtually to abolish Hebrew slavery. A service for debt is recognized; but the unfortunates are to be treated as hired servants, not as slaves; and in the year of Jubilee they are to be freed, their children going out with them (Lev. 25 : 39 ff.).

We know that the law of Deuteronomy was not executed very faithfully. Under the scare of a siege Jeremiah induced the Jews to free their Hebrew slaves; but as soon as the siege was temporarily raised they forced them back into bondage (Jer., chap. 34). The later law was probably designed to mitigate the evils of slavery as far as practicable, as the deuteronomic code had been found incapable of enforcement.[17]

[16] Other nations did not observe such a law; see 1 Kings 2 : 39 f. It is by no means certain that the Hebrews obeyed this law strictly.

[17] See DRIVER, *Deuteronomy*, in the "Inter. Crit. Com.," p. 185.

The debtor might sell his children into slavery (Isa. 50:1; *cf.* 2 Kings 4:1; Matt. 18:25), and probably would generally do so before accepting that fate for himself. The poor people complained bitterly to Nehemiah that they would be obliged to sell their children as slaves, and, in fact, had already parted with their daughters (Neh. 5:5), the sons being held as long as possible. This transaction, as Ryle has pointed out, is in harmony with the earlier law rather than with the later, which practically forbade the sale of a Hebrew as a slave. Nehemiah took a vigorous stand against the enslaving of poor Hebrews, and his action may have contributed toward checking the evil. There could scarcely be an objection to slavery as such; for it is reported—in a source indeed not too trustworthy—that the first company of returning exiles had brought with them 7,337 slaves, men and women.[18] Nehemiah was aroused by the evil to the new state in the richer classes fattening on the misfortunes of the poor.

The life of a slave is not generally an easy one, and the Hebrew slave experienced the common lot. He was part of his master's household, and in the simpler family life of certain classes may have enjoyed some privileges. But hard service was exacted of him. The master is urged to release the slave in the seventh year, on the ground that "he had served for six years to the double of the hire of a hireling" (Deut. 15:18). Conditions may have been better in the earlier days, when some slaves would elect to remain with their masters. But, as the later law makes no provision for this, it is probable that slaves were only too ready to secure their liberty whenever it was possible.

[18] Ezr. 2:65. The people mentioned here are usually called "menservants and maidservants;" but they were probably slaves, though whether Hebrews or foreigners it is not possible to say.

THE RELIGION OF JUDAH FROM JOSIAH TO EZRA.

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1. *The religious condition of Judah at the beginning of Josiah's reign.*—At the beginning of Josiah's reign (639 B. C.) two great religious parties or tendencies were struggling for the mastery. The first we may call the traditional or popular party. It included the mass of the people of Judah, the aristocracy, and the priesthood. It was thus the orthodox religion of the state, fortified with all the authority of tradition. Its adherents worshiped Yahweh, the national god of Israel. They regarded him as a tutelary deity, who was bound to his people by ties of natural kinship. Between him and his worshipers there existed a covenant, in virtue of which he was bound to defend them, provided they rendered to him his proper tribute. His demands were not exorbitant. His feasts must be kept up with regularity and splendor. Numerous sacrifices must be offered on his altars. Firstlings and first fruits must be devoted to him. If these conditions were fulfilled, he would be satisfied and would bless his faithful people.

The idea that he made any moral demands was generally repudiated. Immorality was universal. The ruling classes oppressed the poor with the utmost cruelty (Zeph. 1 : 9; Jer. 2 : 34). The judges were venal (Zeph. 3 : 3). The priests were corrupt, and the common prophets gave favorable oracles in proportion to the pay that they received (Zeph. 3 : 4).

Society was rotten to the core, and the dissolution of the Jewish state was imminent; yet the nation as a whole was confident of the continued favor of its patron-god and fondly believed that somehow he would save it from the impending catastrophe. The fall of the northern kingdom in 722 B. C., instead of warning Judah that a similar fate was in store for her, had convinced her

rather that she was the favorite of Yahweh, and the escape of Jerusalem from Sennacherib in 701 B. C. had deepened the belief that the temple on Mount Zion was inviolable. Yahweh as thus conceived differed little from Baal of Canaan, Chemosh of Moab, or Molech of Ammon. He was essentially a tutelary, national deity, whose requirements were ritual rather than ethical.

From a Yahweh-worship of this type it was but a short step to ordinary Semitic heathenism. Yahweh had early been identified with Baal, and the old high places of the Baals, with their accessories of pillars and sacred trees, had been adopted as seats of his worship. This cult was still in full force at the beginning of Josiah's reign (Zeph. 1 : 4 ; Jer. 2 : 8, 23). Close contact with the Assyrians, from the days of Ahaz onward, had encouraged a further syncretism (2 Kings 16 : 10–16). Manasseh had gone all lengths in the attempt to blend the religion of Israel with the religions of the neighboring nations (2 Kings 21 : 2–9 ; 23 : 4–14; Jer. 15 : 4). At the beginning of Josiah's reign this syncretism was unabated. The people "worshiped Yahweh and swore by Molech" (Zeph. 1 : 5). Judah was full of foreign cults and foreign heathenish customs (Zeph. 1 : 8, 9; Jer. 2 : 10). Images apparently were used everywhere in the worship of Yahweh (Jer. 2 : 27 f.). Thus the religion of Israel as held by the popular party was in danger of losing its distinctive features and being absorbed in the chaos of religions that filled western Asia.

Over against the traditional, popular party stood the reforming, or prophetic, party. It aimed at the removal of foreign cults from Judah and of foreign elements from the religion of Yahweh. It antagonized foreign alliances as likely to lead to increased religious syncretism. It perceived that the old high places were so corrupt that they could never become seats of a reformed religion. The temple at Jerusalem, however, it recognized as maintaining a relatively high type of worship. This sanctuary was of pure Hebrew origin and had none of the primitive Canaanite associations that attached to the high places. It was capable of reformation, the high places were not; the prophets agitated, therefore, for an abolishing of the local shrines of Yahweh and a centralization of worship in Jerusalem.

The prophets were not content, however, with the mere effort to remove alien elements from the ancient religion of Israel. They saw that the sole distinction of that religion from others lay in its *ethical* conception of Yahweh and of the conduct that he requires. If this ethical element were ignored, there would be nothing to distinguish Yahweh from any of the patron-gods of other nations, and the door would always be open to the syncretism that they wished to overcome. Accordingly, they insisted that Yahweh must not be conceived as a tutelary deity like Baal, but as "the Holy One of Israel," and that the homage which he requires is not ritual but righteousness (Am. 5 : 21–24; Hos. 6 : 6; Isa. 1 : 10–17; Mic. 6 : 6–8). They declared also that, unless Judah repented and reformed its life, Yahweh would not spare it, but would give it up to the same fate that should befall other nations.

As they thus emphasized the moral element in religion and ignored the ceremonial, the prophets had come to see more and more clearly that Yahweh was essentially different from the non-moral or immoral gods of the nations. They had advanced from the old Hebrew doctrine, that among the gods Yahweh alone is to be worshiped, to the new doctrine, that there is no God but Yahweh and all the gods of the nations are *'elilîm*, "non-entities." By the time of Josiah the religious conflict was clearly defined. The traditional party stood for ritualistic henotheism, the reforming party for ethical monotheism.

At the beginning of Josiah's reign the relation of the two parties was substantially the same as it had been under Manasseh. The traditional party was in power; the prophetical party was mocked and persecuted; but, although few in numbers, it was strong in the consciousness of the truth of its message and of the spiritual unity of its members (Mic., chaps. 6–7).

2. *Josiah's reformation.*—In the early part of King Josiah's reign an event took place which materially altered the religious situation. About 626 B. C. there came a sudden irruption of Scythian hordes into western Asia, who, like the Huns and Tartars of later times, left death and desolation in their wake. According to Herodotus, they spread their ravages as far as the

borders of Egypt. Apparently Judah was destined to fall into their hands. The general consternation which this calamity awakened encouraged the prophets to preach reformation. Zephaniah appeared on the scene with the announcement that the long-predicted "Day of Yahweh" was at hand. Upon Judah, as upon all the other nations, the final doom was coming; the nation could not escape, only the "afflicted of the land," that is, the persecuted prophetic party. Jeremiah also began his ministry about the same time, and in similar strain declared: "Out of the north evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land" (Jer. 1:13–15; 4:6 f.).

Upon the king at least the preaching of these prophets seems to have produced an effect, for he set about a restoration of the temple (2 Kings 22:3 f.) and made an attempt to restrict the high places (2 Chron. 34:3–7). Probably nothing more would have come of these efforts than of Hezekiah's reforms (2 Kings 18:4, 22) but for an incident that occurred in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign (621 B. C.). Shaphan, the scribe, being sent by the king to Hilkiah, the high priest, to obtain money for the payment of the workmen engaged on the temple, was given a book that Hilkiah had found in the temple. The narrative of 2 Kings, chaps. 22–23, gives so full a description of the contents of this book, and of the reforms that were based upon it, that it is clear that it can have been nothing else than the book of Deuteronomy. It falls outside the scope of our inquiry to investigate whether this was an ancient code that had been lost, or whether it was a recent work that had incorporated ancient legislative material; we are concerned only to note the effect that the finding of this book had upon the religious struggle of Josiah's age.

Deuteronomy corresponds remarkably with the programme that the prophets had set before themselves since the time of Isaiah. It is uncompromising in its hostility to mingling the religion of Yahweh with foreign elements. It denounces the high places as an abomination and prescribes that sacrifice may be offered only in "the place that Yahweh will choose out of all thy tribes" (Deut. 12:4–14; 14:22–27). Its conception of

Yahweh is lofty and ethical. It has little to say about ritual, but lays great stress upon righteousness as the one thing that is acceptable to Yahweh, and it teaches that this righteousness can spring only from a heart filled with love toward God. It pronounces curses upon the nation that fails to keep its moral requirements. Deuteronomy, accordingly, embodies the highest ideals of prophetism and was well adapted to be a manual of prophetic instruction. Rightly or wrongly, from the time of its discovery it was believed to be an authentic writing of Moses and as such to be binding upon the nation.

When this book was read before King Josiah, he rent his garments in distress at the thought of the ruin that must come upon his people. In his alarm he turned to the prophetic party for advice. It knew well how to utilize the opportunity. It at once adopted Deuteronomy as its standard, and insisted that its provisions should be put into operation. Huldah, the prophetess, when consulted by the king, announced that all the curses written in this book would come upon Judah (2 Kings 22 : 15 f.). Jeremiah, as we know from his book, welcomed Deuteronomy with all his heart. He himself read it to the people (Jer. 11 : 2), reiterated its curses in case of disobedience (11 : 3–5), and even went about the cities of Judah proclaiming the words of "this covenant" (11 : 6–8).

Wrought upon by all these influences, the nation turned in favor of the prophetical party, and the king determined to institute a reformation in accordance with the provisions of this book. The temple was purged of the images and foreign rites that Manasseh had introduced, the high places were abolished and their priests prohibited from ministering to Yahweh, a great passover was celebrated "as it is written in this book of the covenant," and all the people pledged themselves to keep the deuteronomic covenant (2 Kings, chap. 23).

Apparently the victory of the prophetical party was complete. Time soon showed, however, that the traditional religion was not slain, but only wounded. Before many years the majority of the nation had turned back from the strenuous, spiritual religion of the prophets and of Deuteronomy to the old easy-

going, sensual religion of their forefathers. Josiah's untimely death in battle with Pharaoh Necho, at Megiddo, in 608 B. C., gave this movement increased momentum, for men construed it as a sign of the futility of keeping the deuteronomic covenant. Under Jehoiakim the reactionary party again obtained control, reversed the reforms of Josiah, abandoned the covenant, and refused to listen to the prophets. Jeremiah was soon constrained to say (11 : 9–17): "A conspiracy is formed among the men of Judah . . . . they are turned back to the iniquities of their first fathers . . . . they have broken my covenant which I made with their fathers." Jer., chap. 7, gives a vivid picture both of the popular religion of this period and of the prophetic preaching in antagonism to it. "Trust ye not in lying words, saying, the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, is this. . . . . Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and burn sacrifice unto Baal, and walk after other gods, whom ye have not known, and then come and stand before me in this house, which is called by my name, and say, We are safe; that ye may do all these abominations? . . . . But go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh, where I caused my name to dwell at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel. . . . . Therefore will I do unto this house, which is called by my name, wherein ye trust, and unto the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, as I have done unto Shiloh."

The prophet has in mind the impending Babylonian catastrophe. In 604 B. C., Nebuchadrezzar defeated Necho, and from that time Jeremiah saw that Babylon was destined to be the dominant power in the world, and declared that Judah must fall and Jerusalem be razed. This declaration was the signal for a fresh outbreak of persecution of the adherents of the prophetical party. Jeremiah was arrested on the charge of high treason and narrowly escaped being put to death by Jehoiakim (Jer. 26 : 10–24). Another prophet, Urijah, fell a victim to the king's rage (Jer. 26 : 21–23).

3. *The exile.*—The judgment which Jeremiah had predicted all his life fell in the reign of Jehoiachin. He came to the throne

in 598 B. C., and reigned only three months before Nebuchadrezzar carried him away, with all the better class of the nation, into captivity in Babylonia (2 Kings 24: 8–16). The national life of Judah was practically at an end, but of this it was impossible even now to convince the adherents of the traditional religion. They were still unmoved to repentance, and Ezekiel's standing designation for them was "rebellious house." The old conviction that Yahweh was a tribal god, who would not suffer his favored kingdom to fall or his temple to be destroyed, was still cherished even by the exiles. They insisted on living in Babylonia as transients who might return to Judea at any moment, so that Jeremiah was obliged to write, urging them to give up these vain hopes and settle down in the land of their captivity (Jer., chap. 28).

The dregs of the nation that remained in Judea were equally unaffected by the national disaster. They regarded themselves as spared because of their greater righteousness and despised those that had been taken captive (Ezek. 11:15). Confident that the worst had happened and that Jerusalem could not fall, they made no attempt at reformation.

In the ninth year of his reign Zedekiah revolted against Nebuchadrezzar, who promptly came up and besieged Jerusalem two years. During this time, to the great indignation of the authorities, Jeremiah continued to prophesy that the city would fall. In 568 B. C. this event took place; Jerusalem was razed and the temple burned. A second deportation was then made, and the nation of Judah ceased to exist.

Up to the last moment both the exiles and the survivors had believed that their holy city would escape. Now that the blow had actually fallen, they sank down in blank despair. The more obstinate adherents of the traditional religion concluded from this catastrophe that Yahweh was a god powerless to help his worshipers. They therefore forsook him and adopted the gods of Babylon. They were speedily absorbed in the native population and ceased longer to have significance for the history of Israel. The majority, however, saw in the calamity a token of divine judgment and vindication of the prophets whom they

had persecuted. In their despair one comfort at least remained: the prophets had told the truth and might be trusted. The Yahweh of the traditional religion had left them in the lurch, but the Yahweh of prophetism still remained. The Jews, accordingly, turned eagerly to men like Ezekiel, whom before they had despised, to hear what they would say in this new emergency.

The prophets rose to the situation. They ceased their threatenings of doom, and began to comfort and encourage the exiles with promises of restoration. Both in public and in private they preached separation from the heathen, exclusive worship of Yahweh, and righteousness in his service. The fragments of the ancient prophetic literature that had survived the fall of the nation they carefully gathered. Out of the old secular records they compiled religious histories, which aimed to show how failure to keep the law of Deuteronomy had always brought disaster upon Israel. They organized the exiles into Sabbath congregations (a prototype of the synagogue), in which the sacred books were read. Thus in a quiet way, largely by individual persuasion, a reformation was brought about more deep and lasting than any that had preceded it. The Jewish community was kept apart from the heathen, it was weaned from its love of syncretism, and the idea was fixed that Yahweh is the only God, and that he requires righteousness in his service.

Half of the battle of prophetism was won. All that remained to make the victory complete was the recognition that ritual is valueless in the sight of Yahweh, and that obedience to his moral law is all that he requires. The exile might have been expected antecedently to have fostered this conception by making the practice of the ritual impossible, but the power of ancient prejudice was still too great. The Jews of the exile, with that same fatuity which characterized their descendants after the destruction of the second temple, attributed the fall of Jerusalem to the remissness of their forefathers in ritual matters as well as to their moral shortcomings. Instead of accepting the divine verdict in history and beginning to practice spiritual religion without ritual,

they became more zealous than ever to fulfil ceremonial righteousness. The priests busied themselves with gathering all that had survived of the old liturgical literature, and, as far as was possible, the ceremonies of the ancient religion were laid upon the conscience of the nation as of equal authority with the moral requirements of Yahweh.

It is true that voices were still raised in support of the genuine prophetic doctrine, "righteousness, not ritual." The great unnamed prophet of the exile declared that Yahweh had not missed the sacrifices and offerings which Israel in captivity had been unable to bring to him, and represented him as saying: "I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for my own sake" (Isa. 43:22–25). He taught also that Yahweh had accepted the undeserved sufferings of the righteous portion of the nation, "the servant of Yahweh," in lieu of sacrifices. His view, however, did not prevail. The prophetic movement had spent its energy and was beginning to decline. In the main it succumbed to the spirit of the age, and, having won a half victory, was willing to compromise with the traditional party. Ezekiel is the leading representative of this tendency. In his utterances delivered after the fall of Jerusalem he abandons the old prophetic position, "righteousness instead of ritual," and takes up the position, "righteousness and ritual." In chaps. 40–48 of his book he even goes so far as to lay down an elaborate plan for the rebuilding of the temple and the reëstablishing of its ceremonies at the time when Judah shall be restored from exile.

4. *The restoration.*—The Jews soon had the opportunity to put their religious ideals into practice. In 538 B. C., Cyrus captured Babylon, and in 536 B. C. he granted permission to the exiles to return to their own land. Few were willing to leave their homes in Babylonia, but all were anxious to see the temple rebuilt and its sacrificial ritual reëstablished. Accordingly, those who were willing to try their fortunes with the colony were encouraged by those who stayed in Babylonia, and the cost of the expedition was defrayed by the Jews as a body. This shows that all were interested in the undertaking, and that all expected an increase

of divine favor from the moment that sacrifice was offered again in the ancient place. The distinctly religious and ritualistic character of the undertaking is also shown by the large proportion of priests that took part in it.

The first act of the immigrants was to set up an altar on the exact original site of the altar of the first temple, and to offer upon it the daily morning and evening sacrifices. The feasts also were kept in their due course. The foundation of the new temple was laid, but, owing to the hostility of the neighboring tribes and the extreme poverty of the colony, it was impossible to proceed with it for sixteen years. In the second year of Darius, 520 B. C., however, work was begun again, and four years later the edifice was completed, and the ritual was set in operation with as much splendor as the poverty of the community would admit. The Jews both of Palestine and of Babylonia were confident that now Yahweh would bless them, seeing that at last he was worshiped in the right way.

Only one step remained that ceremonialism might attain its perfect development : the ritual must receive canonical authority. This step was taken at the time of Ezra's second visit to Jerusalem. He then brought with him from Babylonia a "book of the law," which contained not only Israel's early history and Deuteronomy, but also the body of technical priestly legislation that is found in our present Pentateuch. Whether or not this legislation had been in existence before the exile we cannot discuss here. It is enough to observe that prior to this time it cannot have been combined with the ancient sacred history and with Deuteronomy. The new, enlarged law-book, which was practically our Pentateuch, Ezra laid before the national assembly in Jerusalem (Neh., chaps. 8–9), and it was adopted, as apparently it had been already by the Jews in Babylonia, as part of the fundamental law of Israel. Thus the ritual took its place beside the moral and spiritual requirements of Deuteronomy as equally canonical and equally important. The triumph of ritualism was complete.

To be sure, the authority of Yahweh's moral law was still recognized, but, as is always the case when ritual is regarded as

equal to righteousness, morality was formally conceived as outward obedience to a specific body of enactments. The oft-repeated words of Nehemiah, "Remember me, O my God, for good, and wipe not out my good deeds that I have done," are characteristic of the ethical spirit of the times and show the beginning of that Pharisaism with which the gospels make us so familiar.

We should suppose that this constantly increasing formalism would have been opposed by the prophets, but the prophets of the restoration were prophets in name only. They were feeble shadows of their great predecessors, destitute of originality and content to echo mechanically the Messianic predictions of an earlier day. Instead of trying to check the rising tide of ritualism, they did their best to help it along. Haggai's and Zechariah's sole aim was to incite the Jews to complete the temple. Haggai tells them that they cannot expect the divine favor until Yahweh is glorified in his temple. The old prophetic doctrine, "I desire mercy and not sacrifice," is forgotten. Malachi preaches, "Bring ye the whole tithe into the storehouse, that there may be meat in my house, and prove me now herewith, saith Yahweh of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it."

Prophecy had compromised with ritualism, and, having lost its ideal, had nothing more to live for. Malachi was the last of the Old Testament prophets, and he himself showed the consciousness that prophetism was dying in the declaration that Elijah, the representative of the vigorous reforming spirit of better days, must reappear before the day of Yahweh can come (Mal. 4: 5). This was the last utterance of Hebrew prophecy, a confession that it was no longer equal to its task. Ethical monotheism had triumphed over syncretism, but ritualism had triumphed over spirituality. The traditional religion of Israel and the religion of the prophets were both dead, and Judaism was born. The message of the prophets must now slumber for four centuries, dreaming perhaps from time to time in the hearts of the pious few, but not awakening until the greatest of the

prophets appeared to finish the work that his forerunners had been unable to accomplish. Jesus of Nazareth took up the task where the great prophets of Israel had left off, and once more led the world to the thought that true religion does not consist in ritual and outward righteousness, but only in love to God and love to man; that neither in Gerizim nor in Jerusalem are men required to worship God, for "God is spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

THE LITERARY PRODUCTIONS OF ISRAEL FROM JOSIAH TO EZRA.

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The writer of the present paper has been requested "to state briefly and in a positive way," within the limits of 3,000 or 3,500 words, his own conclusions as to what the Israelitish writers produced in the period from Josiah to Ezra. Josiah began to reign about 639 B. C. Ezra was commissioned by Artaxerxes to visit Jerusalem in 459 or 458 B. C., and took an active part in the affairs of the Jewish colony in 446 B. C. He may easily have lived forty or even forty-five years longer. During this period of more than two centuries, notable contributions in both Hebrew and Aramaic were made to the historical, prophetical, poetical, and philosophical literature of the Hebrews. All schools of criticism recognize that the great prophetic books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel were products of this period. Lamentations, although anonymous in Hebrew, is commonly attributed to Jeremiah, the first four chapters at least, if not the fifth. Nahum belongs to the beginning of the period, perhaps falls within it. There is no serious disposition on the part of students of Scripture to doubt that Habakkuk and Zephaniah were written during the earlier of these years also. Haggai prophesied a few years after the return of the Jews from exile, and consequently falls within the period. Zechariah was the colaborer of Haggai, and his visions, his symbolical crowning of the high priest, and his answer to the deputation from Bethel—in other words, the first eight chapters of the book which bears his name—are universally recognized as genuine. As to Malachi, there is no occasion to date this little book later than Ezra's time. Of the books commonly called historical, but known under different classifications in the Hebrew

canon, not one after Samuel was written before the exile, although both the writer of Kings and the chronicler draw from pre-exilic sources. Of the books commonly classed as poetical there is every reason to believe, judging from the linguistic phenomena and from the character of the compositions themselves, that Ecclesiastes and the introduction to the proverbs of Solomon, constituting the first nine chapters of the book of Proverbs, were not written before this period. They may safely be regarded as productions of its close.

The work of the historian of Hebrew literature is comparatively easy up to this point. He has not faced great difficulty as yet, he has scarcely heard the sound of debate, he knows not what issues are at stake. Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah have been handed down by the custodians of the Scriptures as productions of an earlier period of Hebrew literature; and Daniel, Chronicles, and the latter part of Zechariah as productions of this period. The great question for the historian of Hebrew literature regards the proposed inclusion of Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and the latter part of Isaiah among the productions of this period, and the proposed exclusion of Daniel, Chronicles, and the latter part of Zechariah. The question of the date of the Pentateuch has already been discussed on broad lines and received as full treatment as the space allotted to the writer in the BIBLICAL WORLD for June, 1896, permitted; and it need not be discussed now.

The question regarding Zechariah and Chronicles is not involved in the pentateuchal problems. With regard to the debated section of Zechariah, the historical and literary marks indicate the time and pen of Zechariah himself. In the first burden, chaps. 9–11, the house of the Lord was standing (9:15; 11:13). Solomon's temple was standing down to the exile; and the new temple, built after the return, was in use after the year 516 B. C. The reference in 10:10, 11 has been cited that Egypt and Assyria were great powers at the time that this prophecy was delivered. But it was delivered after Israel had been carried captive (10:6), hence after the capture of Samaria, but before the fall of Nineveh, about 606 B. C. But a prophet

after the exile, as well as a prophet of an earlier date, could foretell that the Israelites would be restored from the lands to which they had been carried, namely, from Egypt and Assyria; and although Assyria had succumbed to a later world-empire, he could still say that the *pride* of Assyria, the power by which the Israelites were still kept in captivity, should be brought down; or Assyria may be used of a geographical region, including Babylonia, and refer to the people of Mesopotamia, just as the term is employed by Ezra (6:22), although the region was then under the government of Persia. Accordingly, the first burden may have been delivered before the fall of Nineveh, while Assyria was still a power, or else after the exile, when Assyria had given place to other empires, and since the temple is standing, after the sixth year of Darius, king of Persia. Another datum which contributes to the solution of this question is obtained from the statement that God will break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel (11:14). The brotherhood existed until the reign of Rehoboam, when it was broken by the refusal of the northern tribes to render further allegiance to the throne of David. It might also be said to be broken when Samaria fell, and the northern tribes were scattered. The brotherhood existed once more after the Babylonian exile. This burden was pronounced after the fall of Samaria and the captivity of Ephraim (10:6). It properly dates from the time after the exile, when the current conception was that Ephraim and Judah were reunited in the brotherhood. In point of fact, they were reunited: many members of the ten tribes had joined themselves to Judah; and the existing nation was universally regarded as the representative of the twelve tribes, and in Ezra's day, accordingly, twelve goats were offered as a sin offering at the dedication of the temple, and a second sin offering of twelve bullocks was made for all Israel (Ezr. 6:17; 8:35; *cf.* Matt. 19:28; Luke 2:36; Acts 4:36; 26:7; Phil. 3:5). The prophet, proclaiming the oracle during the latter period, frequently uses the old terms Judah and Ephraim. So did many people living after the exile. Zechariah himself in the first eight chapters employs addresses, the "house of Judah and

house of Israel" (8:13). It is to this post-exilic period, accordingly, that the references to the brotherhood of Judah and Ephraim point.

There is a further and all-important mark. It is declared that God will raise up Judah against the distant sons of Javan, or the Greeks. It will be observed that the Greeks are chosen for two reasons: (1) Because the prophet descries the conflict of the church with the most distant nations of the world. Javan and the isles were at this time within the geographical horizon of the Hebrews, and they were used as types of the remotest heathen nations. (2) The novel feature here is that Javan looms up as the great heathen world-power. The earliest date when the coming power of Greece became evident to observers in the Persian empire was during the years from 500 to 479 B. C., and the coming greatness of Greece as the successful antagonist of Persia was already evident. Greece had successfully checked the advance of Persian arms; the Grecian cities of Asia Minor were in open revolt against their Persian lords during the years 500 to 495 B. C.; the Persians were defeated at Marathon in 490, and, after their victory at Thermopylæ, were crushingly defeated by the Greeks at Salamis, 480, Platæa and Mycale, 479. Zechariah, there is reason to believe on considerable and varied evidence, was a young man, say twenty or twenty-five, when he exhorted Zerubbabel to the work of rebuilding the temple; and, consequently, these stirring events, which revealed the unsuspected greatness of Greece and opened the prospect that it would successfully intermeddle in oriental affairs, occurred during the years which were Zechariah's prime of life. The second burden, chaps. 12–14, is also shown by its contents to belong to the post-exilic period. The writer refers to the terrors of the people when the earthquake in the days of Uzziah occurred. He refers to it as an event living vividly in the consciousness of the people. It was vivid to them either because of recent occurrence or because it had made a lasting impression on their minds. It certainly had made this lasting impression. It is treated as an epoch by the people of the generation in which it occurred (Am. 1:1), and in the first century of the Christian era it was still remembered as a

solemn and striking event (Josephus, *Antiq.*, ix : 10, 4). There is another historical mark in this second burden, the reference to the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon (12 : 11). The only natural reference here is to the mortal wounding of Josiah at Megiddo, when he went out against Pharaoh-Necho. His death was mourned by the singing men and singing women, and a lamentation was composed by the prophet Jeremiah (2 Chron. 35 : 25). Accordingly, the second burden was delivered not earlier than the eve of the exile. Not only do the historical references in the two burdens point to late times, but the literary characteristics of these burdens proclaim them to have proceeded from the same source as the first eight chapters. This is strenuously denied by certain critics. It is urged that a difference of style is discernible between the burdens and the visions. This is true, but it is a cardinal doctrine of literary criticism that the style of an author differs at various periods of his literary career and when he essays different forms of literature. Zechariah's style naturally underwent change during a period of thirty or forty years, and differed when he depicted visions and symbolical actions from the style in which he set forth solemn warnings. Still, in the parable or the symbolic representation of the good shepherd (chap. 11) there are traces of the same literary hand as that which portrayed the visions and the crowning of the high priest. And more subtle marks of the same hand are seen in the unique usage of certain words and expressions which characterize the first eight chapters in common with the last six. A few of these are the Qal of *yashab* in a passive sense (2 : 8; 9 : 5; 12 : 6), *me'ober umishshab* (7 : 14; 9 : 8), *'ehad* for the indefinite article (5 : 7; 12 : 7), *'al-yamin w^e'al-s^emo'l* (4 : 11; 12 : 6), *'^adamah* (2 : 16; 9 : 16; 13 : 5). The employment of the same word in different senses is also a characteristic both of the section which is acknowledged to be genuine and of the section which is disputed.

These are the main reasons which convince the writer of the unity of the book of Zechariah, and that the mature life of the author was passed between the years 520 and 479 B. C.

The principal historical argument for regarding Chronicles as

a later production than the time of Ezra is found in the genealogies. It is asserted that the line of David, which is carried down to Zerubbabel, continues until it mentions the sixth generation after the return (1 Chron., chap. 3). If such is the fact, it scarcely comports with a theory that the book was composed before the death of Ezra; but an examination of the genealogies collected in the book shows that there is not the shadow of proof for the assertion that the families enumerated in 3 : 21, latter part, were descendants of Hananiah, son of Zerubbabel. Their descent, and that of Shecaniah, whose posterity is given at considerable length (vss. 21–24), are not indicated. The phenomenon of unattached families is of common occurrence in these genealogies, and, when the text is not at fault, indicates that the family thus loosely catalogued belonged to the clan or tribe with which it is registered, though its connection is not traced. The four families enumerated in vs. 21 belonged to the lineage of David and were collateral with the royal line which descended through Hananiah, son of Zerubbabel. The position of Chronicles in the last section of the Hebrew canon is also urged as a proof of its late date. But the place of a book in the Hebrew canon was determined primarily by its authorship. It was not written by a prophet, and therefore it is not given a place among the prophets. It was probably written by a priest, and therefore it was put with the miscellaneous group of writings called the Hagiographa. Still other indications point to the time of Ezra as the date when Chronicles was compiled. The amount contributed toward the erection of the temple is stated in Persian money, not in Greek (1 Chron. 29 : 7, R. V., darics), which indicates that the Greek empire had not supplanted the Persian when the work was composed. The designation of the temple as the *birah*, the castle or palace (1 Chron. 29 : 1, 19), indicates a time not later than Nehemiah; for after his time the *birah* denoted, not the temple, but a structure erected by him (Neh. 2 : 8; 7 : 2, both R. V.), which came to be distinguished from the temple and all other buildings as the castle. This date of Chronicles, however, if admitted, directly and indirectly proves several events, including the return of the Jews under Zerubba-

bel, to be facts of history. This result is clearly discerned, and it is an unwelcome result in some quarters, for it is incompatible with unsubstantiated theories that have been adopted. But that incompatibility, instead of being an argument against assigning this date to Chronicles, simply raises the question again whether biblical criticism shall be subjective. Shall the phenomena be manipulated, set aside, and adjusted to support a private theory? Shall the demonstration that, by pruning according to a prescribed method, a document may be shaped to correspond to that theory, be regarded as a proof that establishes the theory? We are face to face with one of the weak points of modern biblical criticism.

A different case is presented by Deutero-Isaiah and Daniel. They are not linked to pentateuchal questions; they are not involved in the development of the ritual; no theory of history need constrain the critic. The arguments for dating portions of Isaiah, notably the last twenty-seven chapters, in this peried are three. It is urged that the language is late and the style is peculiar; that the allusions to the condition of Jews and Gentiles reveal the time of the exile, and that the statements concerning the condition of the people agree with the historical facts, but those which relate to the future have fallen short of fulfilment. To these arguments the answer, which must unfortunately be stated summarily, is rendered: (1) There has not been shown a single word of known late date, nor a single foreign element, which there is any reason to believe was not current in Jerusalem in the days of Isaiah. Every word, phrase, and form is found in earlier Hebrew literature, or may be explained by the history of the times. As to the style being peculiar, change of style is consistent with unity of authorship. The literary activity of Isaiah was continued through at least forty years, and perhaps sixty. And is the style so peculiar, after all? Those who deny the Isaianic authorship find it incumbent upon them to explain the similarity of style. Augusti accounts for the ascription of these chapters to Isaiah, in the first instance, by the fact that "they were composed so entirely in the spirit and manner of Isaiah." Gesenius and De Wette

ascribe the similarity of style to imitation or the work of a conforming hand. Umbreit calls the unknown author of the chapters in dispute, "Isaiah risen again," as from the dead. (2) To the argument that the allusions which are made in these chapters to the condition of Jews and Gentiles reveal the time of the exile, it is replied: (*a*) Isaiah lived with the Babylonian exile in prospect; and in his prophecies he transports himself to the scenes of the exile, represents the people as already in captivity, the land desolate, the temple burned, and foretells the release of the captive Jews. The prophets frequently transport themselves thus to the future and describe what they are predicting as already passed; for instance, although Zebulon and Naphthali had been ravaged and their inhabitants carried into captivity, the acknowledged Isaiah says of them: "The people that walked in darkness *have* seen a great light" (9:2). (*b*) The explicit references to Babylon, the exile, and the restoration are few. Many of the expressions which are commonly cited as alluding to the exile or the anticipated return to Palestine have no such meaning, but refer, for example, to the return of the people to Jehovah, or are vague and general, without specific application. (*c*) The acknowledged Isaiah and his contemporary prophets were already living in anticipation of the Babylonian exile. There is scarcely an event connected with the exile to which the author refers but was known to the Israelites in the time of Isaiah. The prophets of the time predicted the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple (Am. 2:5; Mic. 3:12; Isa. 3:8; 6:11), the desolation of the land of Judah (Hos. 8:14; Am. 9:11–14; Isa. 3:25, 26; 6:11, 12; 32:13), the captivity of the people of Judah (Isa. 11:12; *cf.* Mic. 1:14–16). This captivity was to be in Babylon (Mic. 4:10; Isa. 11:11; 39:6, 7). There should be a return from exile (Joel 3:1; Isa. 11:11), and Jerusalem and the temple should be rebuilt (Mic. 4:2; although the destruction of Jerusalem had been foretold, 3:12; *cf.* Joel 3:16, 17, 20). (*d*) The spiritual condition of the people, as exhibited in these chapters, is that of the time of Isaiah; idolatry under every green tree (57:5 and 1:29; 2 Kings 16:4); and among the oaks (57:5 and

1 : 29 ; Hos. 4 : 13) ; and in gardens (65 : 3 ; 66 : 17, and 1 : 29) ; the slaying of children in the valleys (57 : 5, and 2 Chron. 28 : 3 ; 33 : 6 ; 2 Kings 23 : 10) ; ascending a high mountain to offer sacrifice (57 : 7, and 2 Chron. 28 : 4 ; Hos. 4 : 13) ; hypocrisy (58 : 2–4 and 29 : 13) ; sabbath breaking (58 : 13, and Am. 8 : 5 ; Jer. 17 : 19–27) ; bloodshed and violence (59 : 3, 7 and 1 : 15 ; Mic. 7 : 2) ; falsehood, injustice, and oppression (59 : 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, and 5 : 7, 23 ; 10 : 1, 2 ; Mic. 2 : 1, 2 ; 7 : 3) ; neglect of the temple worship (43 : 23, 24, and 2 Chron. 28 : 24 ; 29 : 27 ; 2 Kings 15 : 4 ; 2 Chron. 27 : 2 ; 2 Kings 15 : 35 ; 2 Chron. 33 : 10). Burning incense upon bricks (65 : 3) was appropriate to a worship derived from either Egypt, Assyria, or Babylonia, and was practiced in Jerusalem before the exile (2 Kings 23 : 12 ; Jer. 19 : 13). Swine's flesh was offered and eaten (65 : 4) by the Egyptians (Herodotus, II, 47, 48), and commonly enough by the Babylonians. (3) To the argument that the statements concerning the condition of the people agree with the historical facts, whereas those which relate to the future have fallen far short of fulfilment, it is replied that the assertion applies with equal force to the acknowledged writings of the prophet Isaiah. He foretold the destruction of the cities, the utter desolation of the land, and the removal of the inhabitants far hence (6 : 11, 12). This was fulfilled to the letter. But he prophesied, also, the flocking of the Gentiles to the standard of Jesse's son, the return of the captive people of God from all parts of the world, the drying up of rivers which were obstacles in the course of the march, a highway from Assyria for the remnant of the people, the wolf dwelling in peace with the lamb (11 : 6–8, 10–12, 15, 16). These are the same predictions as those which, in the latter portion of the book, are pointed to as the extravagant utterances of an enthusiast and as having fallen short of fulfilment. Thus the acknowledged Isaiah, living two centuries before the fall of Babylon and the hopes which that event is supposed to have awakened, wrote in precisely the same manner as the author of the last section.

There is one allusion in this last section, however, which does not reflect the common expectations and customs of the times

of Isaiah. Cyrus the conqueror, saying of Jerusalem, "She shall be built," and to the temple, "Thy foundation shall be laid," is mentioned; but he did not appear in history until almost two centuries after Isaiah. But of this presently. First let us turn to the book of Daniel.

DANIEL *Michelangelo*

The essential integrity of the book of Daniel is not questioned; it was written by one man. But it is denied that the author was Daniel. The date is assigned to the year 168 or 167 B. C., and the object of writing the book is declared to have been to support the faith of the Jews under the dreadful persecution then raging under Antiochus Epiphanes. The chief arguments against the genuineness of the book are: (1) Daniel is not mentioned among the worthies of the son of Sirach in the book of Ecclesiasticus, about 200 B. C. (chap. 49), although he mentions Ezekiel, Nehemiah, and the minor prophets. (2) The writer's use of Greek words, which indicate that he lived in the Grecian period. (3) Historical inaccuracies, which show that he was not an eyewitness of the events which he describes, but lived at a remote period from them. (4) The prophecies give details of history until the death of Antiochus Epiphanes only.

These arguments are answered as follows: (1) The son of Sirach neglects to mention Daniel, it is true; but he also fails to mention Ezra and other notable men, like Gideon, Samson, and

Jehoshaphat. (2) The Greek words are confined to the names of musical instruments, and are all found in one verse (3:5) and its repetition. The Greek origin of at least two of these names is freely granted: *p'sant'rin* for the Greek *psalterion*, and *sumpo-n'ya'* for *symphonia*. But does this fact militate against the composition of the book by Daniel in Babylon about 530 B. C.? By no means; for *a*) instruments such as those described are known to have been in use in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys in Daniel's day. *b*) Captives from distant lands were employed to play on their own instruments of music; of the captive Jews the songs of Zion and the music of the harp were demanded (Ps. 137:1–3); and contemporary documents in cuneiform character abundantly show that not only captive Jews, but musicians from other subject peoples, were required to render similar service. Assyrian kings from Sargon, 722 B. C., onward, not to speak of earlier monarchs, had led off prisoners and received tribute from Cyprus, Ionia, Lydia, and Cilicia, which were Greek lands. Nebuchadnezzar warred against the cities on the Mediterranean. It would be in accordance with custom for these conquerors to introduce Greek instruments and Greek-speaking musicians to their court. *c*) Finally, the language of the passage in question is not Babylonian and not Chaldee, but Aramaic. The Aramæans had for centuries been in contact with the West. Their language was the international language of diplomacy and trade, and they were the intermediaries of commerce between the East and the West. Their language acquired an admixture of foreign words from these sources. The writer of the book of Daniel is using Aramaic, and doubtless employs the names which were current among the Aramæans for instruments of this kind. It is for those who base an argument on these words against the genuineness of the book of Daniel to show that they were not current Aramaic before the sixth century B. C. (3) The asserted historical inaccuracies are not statements which are disproved by history, but only statements which have seemed difficult to harmonize with the meager accounts of secular historians. No contradiction between Daniel's record and established history has been proven; the

asserted historical inaccuracies have, moreover, been steadily diminishing before the increasing knowledge of the times of Cyrus. The existence of king Belshazzar was formerly scouted; but now the records contemporary with the capture of Babylon have made him a well-known historical character; explain why

ASSYRIAN MUSICIANS

he raised Daniel to the third place of power in the kingdom instead of the second, for his father and he already held the two higher places of authority; and have made clear why he and not Nabonidus is mentioned as king at Babylon on the night of the capture of the city, for Nabonidus was absent at the time. They do not yet clear up the reference to Darius the Mede receiving the kingdom, but they show that the appointment of a regent for Babylonia by Cyrus was in accord with his policy. That the queen is represented as calling Belshazzar a descendant of Nebuchadnezzar was regarded as proof positive that the words were put into her mouth by a late writer, for the contemporaries of the queen would not have spoken of Belshazzar as descended from Nebuchadnezzar. The Greek historians have shown that he did not, as it was supposed. Now, however, an inscription of Belshazzar's father has come to light in which he calls himself "the mighty descendant of Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar" (*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, September, 1896). In view of the revelations of the cuneiform inscriptions, it is bold to assert that there are historical inaccuracies in the book of Daniel. (4) The prophecies do, indeed, give historical details until the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (chap. 8), but are the prophecies not definite for the times after Antiochus? The fourth kingdom described in chaps. 2 and 7 can be none other

than the Roman empire, for the attempt to divide the second kingdom—the Medo-Persian—into two is a demonstrable failure. The fourth kingdom is, therefore, the Roman empire, which succeeded to universal empire at a time subsequent to Antiochus, and in its later development is accurately described in the book of Daniel.

The ultimate ground upon which objection to the genuineness of Isaiah and Daniel rests is not found in the literary features not historical references of these books. But Isaiah (44:28 and 45:1) claims to foretell Cyrus by name. Cyrus appeared in history almost two centuries after Isaiah. The book of Daniel outlines, in the form of prophecy, the course of history so far as it is related to the kingdom of God, down through the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and on into the Roman period. It relates also the miraculous intervention of God to save Daniel, the prophet, from the mouth of the lions, and three more of his servants from the flames of the fiery furnace. If these books are genuine, predictive prophecy in the kingdom of God is a fact of history, and another eyewitness exists to testify to the reality of heavenly miracle. Predictive prophecy and the miracle have been the stones of stumbling in these books. The offense can only be removed by denying the genuineness. If it were not for these features of the books of Daniel and Isaiah, their genuineness would not be so widely questioned. If miracles and prophecy are impossible or unhistorical, the books of Daniel and Isaiah are not genuine throughout. If miracle and prophecy are possible and attested by history, no valid reason has yet been advanced against the genuineness of these books. If genuine—and the writer of this article believes that the evidence indicates them to be so—then the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah are not, and the book of Daniel is, a production of the period intervening between Josiah and Ezra.

THE LITERARY PRODUCTS OF ISRAEL FROM JOSIAH TO EZRA.

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JOSIAH came to the throne of Judah in 639 B. C. Ezra's known activity ceased at the proclamation of the giving of the law in 444 B. C. Our period then is almost exactly the two centuries from 640–440 B. C., and includes fifty years before the exile, the fifty years of the exile (586–536 B. C.), and the century following, or the first half of the Persian period (536–332 B. C.). To answer briefly and positively the question, What did Israel's writers produce during this period ? and to give the leading characteristics of the literature, is the purpose of this article.

All extant Israelitish literature of this period is found within the canonical books of the Old Testament, and may be divided into two classes: I, Undisputed writings, those readily and almost universally recognized as belonging here. II, Disputed writings, those whose assignment to this age has been a matter of critical controversy. The first class includes the writings of the prophets Zephaniah, Nahum, Jeremiah, and Habakkuk before the exile, Ezekiel both before and after the fall of Jerusalem (586 B. C.), Obadiah within the exile, where 1 and 2 Kings and Lamentations likewise belong, Haggai and Zechariah (author of Zech., chaps. 1–8), shortly after the restoration (their earliest prophecies being dated 520 B. C.), and Malachi, belonging some seventy years later. Under the second class we place Deuteronomy and allied portions of the Hexateuch and Judges, the Priests' Code, or especially the middle books of the Pentateuch, Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, and allied prophecies, the book of Job, and certain Psalms. The facts which settle the date of our first class may be given in a few words.

I.

Zephaniah, according to chap. 1 : 1, prophesied in the days of Josiah. The contents of his book is agreeable to this statement. His words are mainly descriptive of an impending day of divine wrath upon idolatrous Judah and her neighbors. An appropriate historical background is in the early years of Josiah before the discovery of the law and the reform in 621. At that time idolatry was practiced in Judah, and within this period occurred the Scythian invasion of Palestine (mentioned by Herodotus, but not in the Old Testament), whose terror seems reflected in the *dies iræ* of Zephaniah.

Nahum announces the overthrow of Nineveh. This is the entire burden of his prophecy. He wrote then before the fall of that city in 607 or 606 B. C. Incidentally he mentions the capture of No-amon (Thebes, 3 : 8–10) which took place shortly after 664 B. C. Nahum's prophecy then falls within these limits, whether early or late in Josiah's reign it is difficult to determine.

Jeremiah began his ministry in the thirteenth year of Josiah (626 B. C.; 1 : 3). In the fourth year of Jehoiakim (604 B. C.) his prophecies up to that date were recorded (36 : 1–4, 32). He continued his activity until shortly after the fall of Jerusalem (586 B. C.), when he was carried by a remnant of the Jews into Egypt. His writings abound in many historical references, fixing their date beyond question.

Habakkuk speaks of the Chaldeans as having already entered upon a career of distinguished conquest (1 : 6 ff.); hence he did not write earlier than the decisive battle of Carchemish (605 B.C.). Judah also had apparently suffered no captivity, hence he wrote certainly before 586 B. C., and probably before 598 B. C.

Ezekiel dated many of his prophecies. His call was in the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin (592 B. C.; 1 : 2). His vision of the restored temple was in the twenty-fifth year of the same captivity, in the fourteenth year after the fall of Jerusalem (572 B. C.; 40 : 1).

Obadiah, whose words are directed against Edom, describes his rejoicing over the calamity of Jerusalem, which is best

explained as referring to the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B. C., and is evidently a fresh event in the mind of the prophet.

1 and 2 Kings bring the history of Judah down to the fall of Jerusalem, with some closing verses, perhaps an appendix, mentioning the beginning of the reign of Evil-Merodach (562 B. C.; 2 Kings 25 : 27). The books certainly are as late as the exile, but have such a strong deuteronomic character (see below) that they were probably compiled about 600 B. C. and later enlarged, but they show no trace, as a whole, of being later than the exile.

JEREMIAH *Michelangelo*

Lamentations contains five poems, all dealing with the calamities suffered by Jerusalem through her siege and fall in 586 B. C., and from the pictures of present desolation, clearly written not long after that event.

Haggai and Zechariah (*chaps. 1–8*) furnish the exact date given above (Hag. 1 : 1; Zech. 1 : 1) agreeable to their principal object, the encouragement of the Jews at the time of the rebuilding of the second temple.

Malachi, in dealing with the sins of the people, refers to unhallowed marriages with foreign women (2 : 11–16). This suggests the period of Ezra (about 450 B. C.; Ezra., chaps. 9 and 10), with which the rest of the prophecy is in entire harmony.

II.

Deuteronomy and allied writings.— In the eighteenth year of Josiah a book of the law was found in the temple (2 Kings 22 : 8), which the king, having been greatly stirred over its contents (2 Kings 22 : 11), proclaimed as the law of the land (2 Kings 23 : 1–3), and he also carried out a series of reforms according to its requirements (2 Kings 23 : 4–25). This book, from its warnings (2 Kings 22 : 13), from its covenant (2 Kings 23:3), from the reforms which Josiah introduced, is universally recognized as having been Deuteronomy. Was it, however, a literary product of the reign of Josiah ? It is written as though belonging to the age of Moses, and the narrative of its discovery reads like the finding of an ancient writing, and the reforms of Josiah following its commands have been plausibly likened to Luther's proclamation of the doctrine of justification by faith according to the old and seemingly neglected epistle to the Romans. In spite, however, of these facts we feel constrained to assign Deuteronomy to the beginning of our period. The question of date is clearly between the age of Moses and relatively that of Josiah. Against the earlier date are the following facts : (1) The conditions of society assumed are those of a people long settled in the land of Canaan. *Cf.* frequent mention of "the elders of the city" (19 : 12 ; 22 : 15, etc.), the laws of contracts, etc. (chaps. 15 ; 21 ; 23 ; 24), and especially the law of the king (17 : 14–20). (2) The breadth and fulness of the style of Deuteronomy implies a long development of the art of public oratory. (3) There are no definite traces of the existence of Deuteronomy in literature or in life earlier than Josiah (or at least earlier than Hezekiah). Samuel violated its fundamental law of worship by sacrificing at many places. Elijah did likewise at Mt. Carmel. David appointed his sons priests contrary to its express limitation of the priesthood to the Levites. In short, the history of Israel's literature and religious institutions is against the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy. The book, on the other hand, fits nicely into the age of Josiah. It presupposes exactly the conditions of that age — an age, as we learn from Jeremiah, of great temptation to idolatry. Deuteronomy even warns especially against forms of idolatry,

the worship of the host of heaven (4:19; 17:3), which came in under Assyrian influence and were then prevalent in Judah. From this time on also the influence of Deuteronomy upon Israel's literature is very marked. The parallels between Deuteronomy

LIBRARY AT PATHMOS, WITH ROLLS OF MANUSCRIPT BOOKS

and Jeremiah are numerous. The compiler of 1 and 2 Kings wrote entirely in the spirit of Deuteronomy and judged history according to its standard. Without the difficulty of assumed Mosaic authorship or setting in the land of Moab the late date of Deuteronomy would be unquestioned. This apparent authorship, however, can be explained. The Mosaic period, from the point of view of the prophets, was that of Israel's true and faithful relationship to Jehovah (Hos. 2:15; 11:1; Jer. 2:2). As the cry today is, "Back to Christ," so the cry then was, "Back to Moses." Today, in going back to Christ to apply his teaching to present needs, we reformulate them *indirectly*, giving thus laws

of Christian conduct. But an indirect reformulation of ancient principles is contrary to the genius of the Hebrew mind and language. Intensity is characteristic of Hebrew utterance, as is well illustrated in Christ's use of the word "hate" (Luke 14:26), and "thank" and "hide" (Matt. 11:25). The Hebrew language refuses also to lend itself readily to indirect speech. It is incapable of giving an address in its substance except in the form of an apparent reproduction of the *ipsissima verba*. Hence in the Old Testament historical books, whenever a writer wishes to report that one person made a verbal communication to another, he always says: "So and so spoke to So and so saying." The direct form is always used.[1] Hence, if in the reign of Josiah the Mosaic law and teachings were to be reformulated to meet the exigencies of the hour, they were naturally placed directly in the mouth of Moses. Indeed, practically no other method to produce the required effect was possible. To preserve the continuity of the law, it was required also that new laws be given in the name of Moses. Hence the apparent Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy is no barrier to its origin within the reign of Josiah.

Whether this prophetic reformulation of the law was actually laid up in the temple and lost, or whether "found in the temple" was a technical designation of a law recognized as authoritative, having priestly sanction, we do not know. Deuteronomy may have been written in the reign of Manasseh, and the author in those times of religious persecution may have placed his book in the temple, and thus "the loss" and "the find" may have been real.

The influence of Deuteronomy is not only apparent in Jeremiah and 1 and 2 Kings, but also so clear in Joshua (especially chaps. 1; 11; 12; 23), and Judges (the middle portion 2:6—16:31), that these sections are naturally assigned to our period, and bear witness to a school of deuteronomic writers.

The Priests' Code.[2]—The reformation of Josiah was a failure. The good king fell at the battle of Megiddo. The people back-

[1] *Cf.* ROBERTSON'S *Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 422 ff.

[2] Under the Priests' Code is understood the priestly narrative and laws of the

slid into idolatry. Judah soon went into exile. Deuteronomy had not been sufficient to save the state. Something more as a religious constitution for Israel was required. Ezekiel, the exiled priest and prophet, seems to have felt this keenly, and under the form of a vision he drew up a programme for the future. He heightened the sanctity of the central sanctuary by placing it within the domain of priests, that it might not, like the old temple, be liable to defilement from a proximity to royal residences (43 : 7 f.). He heightened the sanctity of the priesthood by restricting it to the sons of Zadok, the Levites being degraded from office on account of their ministration at the high places (44 : 9–14). Ezekiel gave likewise an elaborate ritual for worship. He described also, with the measurements and detail of an architect's plan, a new temple, and apportioned the land of Palestine among the tribes of Israel with the regularity of a military camp. We have here, then, a new spirit working in the life and literature of Israel — a spirit of ritual and ceremony, of precision and detail — a spirit prompted by the highest religious motive, which saw no hope for Israel without transforming the state into a church and regulating its life through elaborate law and ordinance. This spirit gave rise to the Priests' Code. It, of course, was not an entirely new spirit in Israel. Ritual must have always been observed in connection with sacrifice. Old ordinances were embodied in the new code. This spirit, however, gave a new interpretation of the past. As the author of Deuteronomy, in responding to the cry, "Back to Moses," knew no indirect way of expressing Mosaic principles, so the priestly writer who looked backward, just as Ezekiel had looked forward, placed in the wilderness the ideal constitution and history of the people of God. The old traditional tent of meeting, where Moses received divine revelation, he transformed upon the model of Solomon's temple into the tabernacle. He followed Ezekiel in giving architectural details, in elaborating a ritual of worship, and in systematically arranging the people of

Hexateuch. The most striking portions of this are: the account of the tabernacle (Ex., chaps. 25—31:18*a*; 35—40), the Levitical laws (Lev., chaps. 1–27), the census, the arrangements of the camp, the slaughter of Midian, and the assignment of land for the Levites (Num., chaps. 1—10 : 28; 26—31; 33—36).

Israel. All was necessarily represented as done, also, by the command of God through Moses.

The Priests' Code naturally follows Deuteronomy. In Deuteronomy the central sanctuary is introduced with the emphasis of a new institution; in the Priests' Code it is treated as unquestioned and essential. In Deuteronomy all Levites apparently have a right to the priesthood; in the Priests' Code only the sons of Aaron. In Deuteronomy tithes are eaten by the owner (Deut. 12:17; 14:23); in the Priests' Code they are given to the priests, who in turn give to the Levites (Num. 18:20–28). In Deuteronomy the Levite is poor, associated with the orphan and the widow (Deut. 14:29; 16:11, 15); in the Priests' Code, endowed with tithes, he is no object of charity. In Deuteronomy the Feast of the Tabernacles lasted seven days (16:15); in the Priests' Code an extra eighth has been added (Lev. 23:39). The former was the method of celebration at the time of Solomon (1 Kings 8:65 f.), or when 1 Kings was written; the latter, at the time of Ezra (Neh. 8:18), and later when Chronicles was written (2 Chron. 7:9). In Deuteronomy institutions appear in their simple, formative state; in the Priests' Code they are complex, and represent a later period of development.

The ideal character, also, of the Priests' Code reveals itself when one endeavors to make its narrative actual. It represents the tabernacle as completed in seven months — a short time, certainly, in which to produce all the required elaborate metal, wood, and tapestry work. Possibly such an order given now to modern firms, with all appliances at hand, to manufacture, might be filled within that time, and such a building set up. But Israel was destitute even at the time of Solomon of the skill of working in metals; and then they were sojourning in tents in the wilderness. Pre-exilic history also knows nothing of this elaborate structure. According to the Priests' Code, the native instinct of Israel was order, their leaders were endowed with a genius for organization, and the people with the gift of falling into line never equaled before or since by any people. But their subsequent history is all against such a supposition. The elaborate

camp life given of them in the wilderness plainly is only an ideal sketch after the manner of Ezekiel. The fearful systematic massacre of the whole people of Midian, without the loss of a man, recorded in Num., chap. 31, is of the same ideal character.

The Priests' Code bears marks also of the exilic and post-exilic period in dating events with the year, month, and day, as in Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, while in the earlier literature the year only is given, save in one instance when the months are added, but not the days (1 Kings 6:37 f.). With these late writers also the months are numbered and not named as in the earlier literature. This, too, is the method of the Priests' Code.

The *terminus ad quem* of this great document, afterward united with the earlier narratives and laws to form the Hexateuch, is easily fixed. It was clearly the book of the law, or in the book of the law brought and read by Ezra, the priest and scribe, in Jerusalem at the Feast of the Tabernacles in the year 444 B. C., and solemnly received and ratified by the whole people (Neh., chaps. 8–10).

Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, and allied prophecies.—Under the name of Isaiah, the prophet of the reign of Hezekiah, we have a large book of sixty-six chapters. In examining these chapters one is struck by the subtitles (2:1; 13:1; 28:1; 15:1; 17:1; 19:1; 21:1, 11, 13; 22:1; 23:1; 30:6), two of which repeat the name of Isaiah as an author (2:1; 13:1). These facts suggest compilation or editing by another than the prophet. We have then a collection of writings under Isaiah's name. In this collection chaps. 40–66 form a section by themselves, without title or introduction. Their historical situation since Jerusalem is destroyed (44:26–28; 45:13; 58:12; 63:18; 64:10 f.), the captives are in Babylon (42:14; 47:1 ff.; 48:20), and Cyrus, having entered upon a career of conquest, is known (41:1–3, 25; 45:1), is in the main that of the exile. Chaps. 63–66, containing marks of an author residing in Palestine, probably are an appendix written by a member of the restored community after 536 B. C.

The historical section, chaps. 36–39, closely resembles the parallel narrative in 2 Kings, chaps. 18–20, and a comparison of

the two texts shows that the text of Isaiah is the later. The compilation, then, of chaps. 1–39 is late, and within chaps. 1–35 may be late prophetic pieces. Such are found: 13–14:23, announcing the fall of Babylon and presupposing the exile (14:1, relatively 13:19; 14:1–6); chaps. 34–35, from the close resemblance of chap. 35 to the second Isaiah (*cf.* 40:35; 41:18; 42:15 f.; 55:12 f.); and chaps. 24–27, which are very different in structure and point of view from the known prophecies of Isaiah. Their general character is apocalyptic or eschatological, a form of representation belonging to the exilic and post-exilic period (*cf.* Ezek., chaps. 38–39; Joel, 3:9–21; Zech., chaps. 12–14), and whose date is very difficult to determine. The writer seems to be in Jerusalem (25:6). The powers hostile to Israel seem to be undergoing a process of judgment not yet concluded (28:1, 7). Israel's redemption also has only been partially fulfilled (26:12–21). These features suggest an early post-exilic period. The tone and longings are similar to those of Haggai and Zechariah. Many, however, place these chapters later than Ezra.

The book of Job.—The date of this great poem, from the absence of any historical allusions, is very difficult to determine. It evidently belongs to an age of reflection and of advanced social life, tinged with misery and disorder. This suits the period of the exile and the following century. But we place it especially at this time because the problem of God's moral government and of innocent suffering was then very pressing. We meet it in a rudimentary form in the experience and writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and distinct and definite in the second Isaiah. The parallel passages in this and the book of Job are also numerous and striking. Both magnify and beautifully describe the revelation of God in nature, and together they are the sublimest portions of the Old Testament. Ezekiel's allusion to Job shows that a story of his righteousness was familiar during the exile, and that he might well then or later have been chosen as the subject of a poem and made in a book of comfort the representative of the pious sufferers of Israel.

Certain Psalms.—To determine with precision the dates of

the Psalms is impossible. Prayer and praise may be similarly expressed within many centuries. Religious experience constantly repeats itself, and Israel suffered repeated wrongs and oppressions, whose separate cries cannot be distinguished. A considerable number of Psalms, however, must belong to our period, and we may seek them in the following groups: (1) those magnifying the law (deuteronomic), Pss. 1; 19:7–14; (2) those of the tone and times of Jeremiah, Pss. 5; 6; 14; 52–55; (3) those reflecting the sufferings and circumstances of the exile, Pss. 22; 51; 88; 90; (4) those looking back upon the exile and exulting in the restoration, Pss. 40; 66; 67; 85; 103; 106; 107; 124; 137; (5) those apparently connected with the dedication of the second temple, Pss. 95–99. Such a list as we have given is by no means exhaustive, but only suggestive of the Psalms to be assigned within our period.

III.

The characteristics of the literature of Israel within this period are: (1) Intense subjectivity of feeling. This meets us especially in the hortatory form of Deuteronomy, in the plaints of Jeremiah, and in the passionate cries of Job. (2) An oppressive sense of sin and divine retribution. This, indeed, is the key to the development of Israel's literature. The literature is *religious*. Its problem is the relation of Israel and mankind to God. Hence it flourished in a period of apparent disintegration and fall, and thus is unlike the literature of other peoples, which has usually flourished in periods of prosperity. When Israel's hopes ceased to be political, and the fulfilment of her destiny must be sought in the life of a church or a people of God, the hour was ripe for her greatest literary achievements. (3) A full assurance of final triumph and redemption. This is the characteristic note of the second Isaiah, and follows, through the revelation of Jehovah's indissoluble loving choice of Israel, the thought of sin and retribution. Where sin abounds, grace much more abounds. (4) A tendency in prophecy to become apocalyptic (*cf.* Ezek., chaps. 37–48; Zech., chaps. 1–8). The necessity for divine intervention is emphasized, and the progress and redemption of

God's people becomes less and less a matter of human activity. The naïve spontaneity of the storyteller seen in the tales of the patriarchs and of the prophets Elijah and Elisha gives way to the artificiality of a religious pragmatism illustrated mildly in the deuteronomic narratives, and definitely in those of the Priests' Code. (5) A striving after literary form or finish (an external characteristic). This appears in the qinah-rhythm, the dirge or elegiac rhythm, of Lamentations, Ezek. 19 : 2–9, etc. Such endeavors led also to the alphabetic device seen in Lamentations. Not, indeed, until this period does literary composition seem to have been systematically cultivated in Judah, and writings carefully arranged. This is the inference from Jeremiah's pains to have his prophecies transcribed, from the interchange of letters with captives in Babylon, and from Ezekiel's systematic dating and arrangement of his prophecies. We read of nothing like this at an earlier period.

THE ANGEL AT THE SEPULCHER.[1]

"And entering into the tomb they saw a young man sitting on the right side, arrayed in a white robe: and they were amazed. And he saith unto them, Be not amazed. Ye seek Jesus the Nazarene, which hath been crucified: he is risen: he is not here; behold the place where they laid him."

This conception of the angel at the sepulcher, following the account by Mark, is the work of our American sculptor, Erastus Dow Palmer, and the illustration is from a photograph of the original statue in clay just as it left the hand of the artist.

The angel here is a royal herald intrusted with a celestial commission of transcendent import, the announcer of the supreme event of the universe and the crowning fact in human history. No insignia proclaims his exalted office; his personality alone, clad in the simplicity of heavenly greatness, suffices. In the pose of the angel, inclined slightly forward, with hands resting upon his knees, there is expressed a sense of alertness and aptitude that is strikingly forceful. "The long white garment" falls about his form of heroic size, in folds that are the perfection of grace.

One feels that the statue is the work of an original and poetic mind that has striven earnestly to represent that exalted being created worthy to stand in the presence of God, the "messenger of Jehovah," and bearer of gracious tidings, noble in form, endowed with the highest attributes of immortal beauty and intellect. In this respect it stands in marked contrast with many of the weak conventional representations of the same subject wrought by the hesitating hand of less intelligent art.

John Powell Lenox.

[1] See frontispiece.

MATERIAL FROM ENGLISH LITERATURE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS.

I. THE CRUCIFIXION. II. THE RESURRECTION.

By PROFESSOR MYRA REYNOLDS, PH.D.,
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I. *The crucifixion.*—The crucifixion as the supreme act of Christ's self-sacrifice for man is a frequent inspiration in Christina Rossetti's fine poems. In *The Three Enemies* the temptations of "The Flesh," "The World," and "The Devil" are repelled by constant reference to Christ's sufferings. The following stanzas are illustrative:

> "Sweet, thou art sad."
> "Beneath a rod
> More heavy, Christ for my sake trod
> The wine-press of the wrath of God."
>
> "Sweet, thou art young."
> "So He was young
> Who for my sake in silence hung
> Upon the Cross with Passion wrung."

Behold the Man! and *Good Friday* are a passionate outcry against the easy indifference with which man can think of the Christ who bore our shame in agony. In *It is Finished* the thought of love is prominent:

> Thy unblemished Body on the Tree
> Was bared and broken to atone
> For me, for me,
> Thy little one

In *Long Barren* is the desire to answer Christ's love with such life as will please him:

> Thou who didst hang upon a barren tree
> My God, for me;
> Though I till now be barren, now at length,
> Lord, give me strength
> To bring forth fruit to Thee.

Herbert's *The Sacrifice* is a poem of sixty-three stanzas, in which is given an account of the betrayal, the trial, and the crucifixion. Christ is represented as speaking, and each stanza ends with the refrain: "Was ever grief like Mine?" In Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph over Death* we have again

the biblical story from the garden of Gethsemane to the death on the cross. Of terrible power is the description of Judas, who, like "staring Orestes, with eyes flung back upon his mother's ghost," flees from the hellish hags of remorse that pursue him to his death. In stanza 46 Satan is represented as pushing Judas on to despair with these words:

> He gave thee life: why shouldst thou seeke to slay Him?
> He lent thee wealth: to feed thy avarice?
> He cal'd thee friend: what, that thou shouldst betray Him?
> He kis't thee, though He knew His life the price;
> He wash't thy feet: shouldst thou His sacrifice?
> He gave thee bread, and wine, His bodie, blood,
> And at thy heart, to enter in He stood;
> But then I entered in, and all my snakie brood.

The same strain is continued in the comments on the multitude who cried out for the crucifixion of Jesus:

> Why should they think Thee worthy to be slaine?
> Was it because thou gav'st their blinde men eyes?
> Or that Thou mad'st their lame to walke againe?
> Or for Thou heald'st their sick men's maladies?
> Or mad'st their dumbe to speake and dead to rise?

II. *The resurrection.*—One of the noblest Easter poems is that in Goethe's *Faust* (see Bayard Taylor's translation). Faust is just about to drink the poison in the cup of clearest crystal,

> A solemn festal cup, a greeting to the morn,

when suddenly with the break of day the church bells begin to peal, and the fresh, young voices of the choir boys in the neighboring cathedral ring out the joyous song, "Christ is arisen." The gladness of these "gentle, powerful sounds of Heaven" breaks the spell of Faust's dark mood, and brings him back to his old allegiance to life. Memories of heavenly love and spring's rejoicing holidays and childhood's familiar pleasures have come in the wake of the Easter song. The hymn should be studied in its setting to get the full effect.

Of Easter songs and hymns there are many. George Herbert's *Easter* begins with the quaint verse:

> Rise, heart, thy Lord is risen; sing His praise
> Without delayes,
> Who takes thee by the hand, that thou likewise
> With Him mayst rise.

See also Crashaw's *Easter Day,* in which are the fine lines:

> In Joy's white annals lives this hour
> When life was born.

Vaughan's *Easter Hymn* celebrates in curiously homely but effective words the victory of Christ over death. It begins:

> Death and darkness get you packing,
> Nothing now to man is lacking;

All your triumphs now are ended
And what Adam marr'd is mended.

See also *The Bohemian Easter Hymn* (1531), Wesley's *The Lord is Risen*, Keble's *Easter Day*, as other examples of the treatment of the theme in popular hymnology. In Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph after Death*, beginning

But now the second morning, from her bowre
Began to glisten in her beames; and nowe
The roses of the day began to flowre
In the easterne garden,

we have with strange wealth of color and form and music a description of "the engladded spring," when the Lord, before forsaken of all the world, now arises confest a God. Earth decks herself with lovely flowers, "wide, flaming primroses set all on fire," purple violets, roses and lilies, and daisies red. Bald trees clothe themselves in new green, the copses catch the sunshine to gild their leaves. The sweet birds sing grief away, the lambs dance, fresh perfumes fill the air. The aged world seems new-created with the joy of Christ's triumph.

Christina Rossetti has a similar treatment of the theme, connecting the glory of spring with the resurrection, in *An Easter Carol*, which begins:

Spring bursts today,
For Christ is risen and all the earth's at play.

In *A Better Resurrection* she turns the thought by representing the dead heart brought to fruitful life by Christ:

My life is a frozen thing,
No bud nor greenness can I see:
Yet rise it shall—the sap of spring;
O Jesus, rise in me.

See also the "The Resurrection of Life," in Herron's *The Larger Christ:*

The visible Christ, cramped, limited and mis-understood while in the flesh, was dead. The infinite Spirit-Christ was alive forevermore. . . . . What seemed to the disciples death was infinite life. . . . . The hope of man was dead; but the hope of God was kindling all the skies of human thought. . . . . The resurrection is the principle of all human growth and achievement. We are always dying and being born again into better and larger spheres; always failing that we may succeed, submitting that we may conquer. Every living life is a continuous resurrection.

The Council of Seventy.

During the coming summer the American Institute of Sacred Literature will give biblical instruction at eleven centers.

Of the first school, the Maine Ministers' Institute, held May 19–27 in Cobb Divinity School, announcement was made in the April number of the BIBLICAL WORLD, p. 261. The American Institute lectures were given by Dr. James Henry Breasted, of the University of Chicago.

At Winfield, Kan., under the auspices of the Chautauqua Assembly (June 14–24), daily work in the New Testament will be conducted by Professor Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago. His special subject will be "The Life of the Christ."

At Lake Madison, S. D., Dr. E. L. Parks will again have charge of the instruction. He will conduct daily class work in the fourth gospel, and will hold conferences upon "Methods of Systematic Bible Study."

Professor D. A. Hayes, of Garrett Biblical Institute, will be present at two assemblies, viz., Waseca, Minn., and Marinette, Wis. His topics in both schools will be: "Methods of Bible Study," "The Imperishable Book," "Genesis," "The Revelation of John," "Amos, the Social Reformer," "Isaiah, the Statesman-Prophet," "Matthew, the Jewish Gospel," "John, the Theologian," "The Book of Acts," "The Pauline Epistles," "The Epistle to the Romans," "The Epistle to the Ephesians."

From July 20 to August 17, at Bay View, Mich., Professor G. L. Robinson, lately elected to McCormick Seminary, will give two courses of study especially adapted to Sunday-school workers: the first a course on "Old Testament History from the Disruption to the Captivity," and the second a course on "The Life of Christ," each five hours per week. Mr. Horace Hitchcock, of Detroit, will elaborately illustrate the subjects with the stereopticon. Rev. A. W. Stalker, of Detroit, will lecture upon the "Psalter" or upon "The Gospel of John."

In August, at Pertle Springs, Mo., Dr. H. L. Willett will give a course on "Old Testament Prophecy." At Macatawa Park, also in August, he will give a series of "New Testament Book Studies."

At Monteagle, Tenn., Professor Lincoln Hulley, of Bucknell University, will again conduct the biblical work. A series of "Book Studies" covering representative books of both the Old and the New Testaments will be used to illustrate Hebrew methods of thought, and its expression in literature and life.

During July and August the Institute will, as usual, give instruction at Chautauqua. Courses in the English Bible will be given, in "Old Testament Prophecy" by Dr. H. L. Willett, and in the "New Testament" by Professor Rush Rhees, of the Newton Theological Institute. Courses in the Hebrew language will be conducted by Dr. Willett and Mr. Haydn Jones, of the University of Chicago. Professor Rhees will give a course in "Advanced New Testament Greek." The beginning work in this language will be carried on by Professor W. W. Bishop, of Garrett Biblical Institute.

In addition to the above courses, members of the Council of Seventy, with others, will carry on work at the University of Chicago. In the Department of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation Associate Professor Price will give courses in "Advanced Hebrew Grammar and Etymology," "Advanced Hebrew Grammar and Syntax," and "The Hebrew Prophets;" Associate Professor R. F. Harper in "Assyrian Language," "Selected Assyrian Historical Inscriptions," "Beginning Syriac;" Assistant Professor J. H. Breasted in "Hebrew Language," "Beginners' Hieroglyphic," "History of Egypt," "The Arabic Language," and "The Arabian Nights in Arabic;" Dr. C. E. Crandall in "Hebrew Language," "Hebrew Sight Reading in Samuel and Kings;" Dr. Willett in "Hebrew Sight Reading in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther," "Hebrew Sight Reading in Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs," "Outline of Hebrew History."

In the New Testament Department Professor C. R. Gregory, of the University of Leipzig, will give courses in "Greek Palæography," "Documents and Criticism of the New Testament;" Professor Mathews in "Political History of New Testament Times," "The Gospel of Luke," "The Epistle to the Galatians," and "The Teachings of the Apostle Paul;" Dr. C. W. Votaw in "New Testament Greek," "The Teaching of Jesus," "The Miracles of Jesus."

Many members of the Council will be engaged in biblical instruction at summer schools not affiliated with the Institute, as, for instance, Professor E. I. Bosworth, of Oberlin, at the Moody School at Northfield. Of these we have not sufficient data to make announcement.

Exploration and Discovery.

At the first milestone of the Via Flaminia, in the grounds of the Basilica di S. Valentino, there has been found a piece of the cover of a marble sarcophagus with a representation of a ship with a sail set, and at the helm a man labeled Paulus. The sarcophagus is probably Christian therefore, and is important as indicating the estimate set upon Paul.

The *Independent* of May 5 prints the following important communication from Professor Richardson, Director of the American School at Athens, which will be of great interest to all New Testament students:

In our excavations at Corinth in the valley east of the temple we have just found, at a depth of two meters below the surface, a marble block about three feet and a half long, with one of its broad sides elaborately and peculiarly carved, showing a row of somewhat sunken dentils with a projecting band of molding below it as well as above. This was, of course, the original face.

On what was once its upper side or edge was cut an inscription, mutilated at both ends, in letters about two inches high, running thus:

. . . ΑΓΩΓΗΕΒΡ. . . .

Towards evening of the day of discovery it dawned upon me all at once that we had here all that was left of *συναγωγὴ Ἑβραίων*, and that this stone in all probability came from the very synagogue in which the apostle Paul "reasoned every Sabbath and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks" (Acts 18:4).

It is not necessary to waste words on the interest of this inscription. We have been complaining of the dearth of inscriptions at Corinth. But in case we had found a hundred inscriptions, it is doubtful whether we should have had one which would be more suggestive than this fragment, which seems to bring us nearer to the great apostle to the Gentiles, as he moved about in this great city, until there grew up about him a body of followers of the Lord to whom he was so tenderly attached that he wrote them two immortal letters.

Of course, we have not the synagogue itself. The block has wandered about. It probably served its first turn in some building of the old city that was destroyed by Mummius, and then came to baser uses in the Jewish synagogue. Quite likely it formed the lintel to the door; and since its face with the elaborate molding was not convenient for inscribing, it was turned over on its side where the molding could still be seen by looking up. A good field for the inscription was found on the narrow side. Perhaps we may yet find the synagogue itself. But the suggestiveness of the inscription is, perhaps, just as pleasing without the local habitation. It is a sermon in stone.

Work and Workers.

Professor Frants Buhl, of Leipzig, has accepted a call to the University of Copenhagen.

Baylor University, Waco, Tex., plans to hold a Bible school from June 13 to July 9, in which Professor John S. Tanner will give two courses in the "Interpretation of the New Testament": the first being an "Outline of the Life and Work of Paul," and the other the "Interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians."

In the *Evangelist* of May 5, Professor Herrick Johnson, of the McCormick Theological Seminary, closes a long review of the volume of Professor McGiffert with these words: "My sole contention is that, however much the writer of *The Apostolic Age* may have exposed himself to severe and merited criticism, he is not open to the charge of having tossed to the winds the fundamental doctrines of the gospel of the Son of God."

At the Northfield conference during the coming summer, Professor E. I. Bosworth, of Oberlin College, will have charge of the devotional Bible study, and Mr. S. M. Sayford will conduct the normal training class. Bible classes will be held regularly every day, both during the World's Student Conference and the Young Women's Christian Association Conference. The Bible work under the auspices of the latter body will be in charge of Professor Bosworth and Miss Wild, editor of *The Evangel.*

Professor Max Kellner, D.D., of the Cambridge Theological School, in *The Church* for April, calls attention to the value of the recently discovered Saidic version of the book of Job for the restoration of the original text of "this fine old dramatic poem." Because of its theological difficulties Job has suffered more than most books of the Old Testament by the hand of ignorant editors and scribes, and this Coptic translation of Hesychius' revision of the Septuagint carries us back another step toward the recovery of the original Septuagint. Some of the passages in the Hebrew text which are incomprehensible, or which have, on different grounds, been thought to be

spurious, are shown by this version not to have been contained in the early Septuagint, while many obscure readings are replaced by others that are intelligible and obviously the more ancient.

THE most industrious defender of the old and traditional views concerning Moses and the prophets that Germany has produced in recent years is Pastor Eduard Rupprecht, a pupil of the famous von Hofmann, of the University of Erlangen. Rupprecht makes no concessions whatever to the critical school, and in this respect differs materially from such men as Klostermann and Hommel, who antagonize the Wellhausen school sharply, but do so by trying to supplant criticism by criticism. Rupprecht in his researches shows himself to be a man after the fashion of Dr. Zahn, of Stuttgart, who for years was practically the sole literary protagonist of the traditional views in the land of Luther. Rupprecht has written a solid work in three volumes, entitled *Des Rätsels Lösung*, in which, step by step, he seeks to undermine and overthrow Wellhausenism. The work has positive literary merits, and makes out as good a case as is possible in favor of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The line of argument is largely that pursued by Professor Green in this country. Rupprecht is indefatigable, although he is no longer a young man. The recently published German translation of Driver's *Introduction* has called him to arms again. In reply he has published *Die Kritik nach ihrem Recht und Unrecht*, in which the principles of the modern critical school are discussed. It is remarkable that the defenders of the old views in Germany to a man are from the pulpit and pew of the country. In university circles modern methods, in a more or less pronounced form, hold absolute dominion.

Book Reviews.

A Guide to Biblical Study. By A. S. Peake, M.A., with an Introduction by A. M. Fairbairn, D.D. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1897. Pp. xix+264. $1.50.

This book is both interesting and disappointing. It undertakes to do what no book of its size could possibly do, but so far as its limitations of space permit it to go, the result is satisfactory. Perhaps its aim to be purely popular and not addressed to students may explain the author's ambitious effort to compress even the briefest outline of biblical introduction, exegesis, history, and theology into a single volume. The hints which it supplies will be found most helpful by all those readers who have not the time for more extensive research. It is a cause for satisfaction that a book of the kind can be placed in the hands of many who are asking for help on Bible study. The point of view is modern and scholarly. Without dogmatism, the author puts the reader into possession of the ripest thought of the time on the various phases of biblical literature. What may be regarded as the assured conclusions of criticism are presented in simple form, and the result should go far toward giving the lay reader a true conception of the real character of modern biblical study, and removing his fear of critical labors and their results. "The mistakes of critics," says Dr. Fairbairn in his introduction, "have been innumerable; but it is by the mistakes of the discoverer that the truth is ultimately served. There is no process that has so little that is reasonable and conclusive in it as the process that would discredit exploration by magnifying the discordances of the explorers. Were this method had recourse to in other things as it has been pursued by many of the more officious apologists for traditional beliefs, we should never have had satisfactory results in any single science, abstract or concrete, natural or historical, or in any single line of investigation, whether geographical or antiquarian." Such a book as this is needed by the Sunday-school teacher and all who deal with children. There is no field in which the modern view of things would so increase the effectiveness of work as here. The book gives admirable summaries of literature, which will be found of great service by all who have occasion to select books of

reference on the various portions of Scripture. Of particular interest are the sections on the theology of the Old and New Testaments. The teachings of prophets and apostles are outlined with discrimination. The section on the teachings of Jesus is the least satisfactory, only six pages being devoted to it, as contrasted with twenty-four to Paul. A chapter on language and biblical study is contributed by G. B. Gray, M.A. HERBERT L. WILLETT.

Genesis Critically and Exegetically Expounded. By DR. AUGUST DILLMANN, late Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the last German edition by W. B. Stevenson. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons. 2 vols. Pp. 426 and 516. $6.

The numerous works published by this distinguished biblical scholar, most of which have appeared as parts of the *Kurzgefasste exegetische Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, have made his name familiar to every student of the Old Testament, and, as a result, the present translation of the sixth edition of his *Genesis* (1892) will be welcomed. Dillmann represents the type of criticism which uses all the fairly attested results of the process, but does not follow the extreme wing to positions which will certainly have to be abandoned as the work goes forward. Critics of every school, radical and conservative, have rendered and are rendering invaluable service to biblical study, but extreme positions on either side are dangerous, because they do not stand the bombardment of facts. Dillmann has, from the first, occupied a mediating ground, being in consequence approved by neither wing. But his position gives the student of the whole question a point of departure for further study. While Genesis is not the key to the hexateuchal problem, it falls to be considered from the same angle as the other books of the group, and has a special interest as embodying those early narratives to which so much thought is being given in these days, not alone from the theological side, and no longer from the scientific, but especially from the historical and literary. The light shed on the records of Genesis by Assyrian and Babylonian literature is growing constantly, and has lent a new interest to the theme. In the preface to the present work, which is not translated, the author speaks of this growing material and the discriminating use which has been made of it in these volumes.

In the preliminary chapter there is a statement of the author's view of the sources, which needs to be supplemented by the fuller statement in his commentaries on Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua. He uses the letters A. B. C. for the usual P. E. J., whose dates he places respectively in pre-exilic times (though worked over in the exile and later), the ninth century, and the times of the great prophets.

The creation narrative is considered in the light of similar material preserved from Indian, Greek, Egyptian, Etruscan, Phœnician, Babylonian, and Persian sources. One is hardly prepared to estimate the Genesis account at its true value till this comparison has been made. It discloses at once a radical difference in atmosphere and treatment. While there are striking likenesses to some of the stories, there are features which cannot be explained except by appeal to Israel's particular religious characteristics. Polytheism is excluded. Whatever may be the borrowed elements, they have been scrupulously purified. "In fact, the incomparable preëminence of the biblical narrative lies not in the material structure or physical explanations which it may give, but in the penetration of the traditional matter with the higher faith in God. . . . . Just because in the case of the Bible the proper sharp distinction between God and the world is drawn, and God is thought of in his full sublimity, spirituality, and goodness, therefore, also, the representation of the process of creation is loftier, more worthy, and more correct than anywhere else, without mixture of the grotesque and fantastic, simple, sober, clear and true. . . . . Thus far one may describe the narrative as a work of the spirit of revelation. Only where God has become manifest in his true nature, could it have been composed."

The attempt to force agreement between the biblical narrative of the creation and the facts of science is quite foreign to the method of so candid an exegete as Dillmann. The many striking parallels of the first narrative with the approved results of geology are noted. But it is seen, on the other hand, that the effort to trace a divine disclosure of natural processes in these accounts is unwarranted and unfair to the records themselves. The days of the writer of the creation story are not periods, but ordinary days. The "light-bearers" or heavenly bodies of the fourth day are not simply "appointed" then, as so many harmonizers have contended, but created. Then the second chapter gives an entirely different recital of the creative process, which, while radically different from the first, emphasizes with equal force the lead-

ing ideas of both — God the author of creation, and man its highest work.

The discussion of the origin of sin as set forth in the Eden narrative is admirable. The consciousness of sin makes that record forever true as a leaf of human experience, and that the experience of every man. In no other literature is such a representation found, and, while elements of foreign character appear, such as the garden of God, the tree, and the serpent, their connotation in this narrative is unique. They have a value which could only arise out of those religious factors which conditioned Israel's life.

In most particulars the conclusions reached in earlier editions are unchanged. Of the three chronologies of the patriarchs, Hebrew, Samaritan, and Septuagint, the second is to be preferred as nearer the original. Exegetical attempts to reconcile the reported longevity of the patriarchs with the probabilities of the case are pronounced unsatisfactory, and at variance with the evident meaning of the writer. Angels, not men, are the sons of God of 6 : 1–4 ; the 120 years of 6 : 3 are a new limitation set to human life, not the period of preparation for the flood ; the contemporary materials bearing on the flood are discussed ; the curse of Canaan rather than Ham his father reflects the Hebrew hatred of the Canaanites ; in the blessing of Shem, 9 : 27, Japheth is made the subject of the verb to "dwell," which is also the opinion of many leading scholars ; it is not improbable, however, that future commentators will return to the older view that it is Elohim who is to dwell in the tents of Shem. The distribution of nations in the table of chap. 10 is historico-geographical, rather than wholly ethnic. The historic character of the patriarchs is strongly maintained, though the presence of legendary elements in the narrative is granted. "Till he come to Shiloh" is adopted as the reading of 49 : 10. At the head of each section there is a statement as to the sources used. The literature bearing on the book as a whole, and on its various parts, is cited at length. The indexes are not as full as they should be. The translation of Mr. William B. Stevenson, B.D., of Edinburgh University, is worthy of praise. The commentary will be recognized as among the best helps for the study of Genesis, and one of its most valuable features is the collection of literary remains from other nations dealing with the creation and the flood, which puts into convenient form material for which one has usually to search Bauer, Rosenmüller, Johannsen, Bunsen, and Lenormant.

HERBERT L. WILLETT.

Die vier kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte. Uebersetzung der syrischen im Sinaikloster gefundenen Palimpsesthandschrift von ADALBERT MERX. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1897. Pp. 258, 8vo. M. 5.

Another translation, by a competent German orientalist, of the Syriac version of the gospels discovered by Mrs. Lewis in 1892 will be welcome to scholars, and may help to revive the interest in one of the most important biblical finds of recent years; the title, "The Four Canonical Gospels, according to their Oldest Known Text," will at the same time attract attention and provoke severe criticism. Those who regard the Peshitto as the oldest of the Syriac versions, and those who give the priority to the Curetonian, will both take strong exception to the view of Merx and the confidence with which he declares and defends it; and all who accept the critical views underlying the Westcott-Hort text will take offense at the unfavorable estimate of the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts. In our author's judgment these Greek authorities, the oldest at present known to exist, with the exception of the papyrus leaf recently discovered in Egypt, give a less reliable text than the Syriac palimpsest, although they represent the original, while it gives only a translation.

This audacious position is supported, or illustrated, by a careful examination of several disputed passages. The first is the much-controverted utterance of our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount concerning anger (Matt. 5 : 22). The word *eikē*, "without cause," which was inserted in the A. V. after the T. R., was removed by Westcott and Hort and the revisers, chiefly on the authority of the two manuscripts ℵ and B. It is in the Syriac palimpsest, and Merx maintains that the evidence for it shows that it was very widely diffused in early times. It is found in all the other Syriac versions; in the Armenian version (sæc. V); in the Gothic (sæc. IV); in the Bohairic, which is assigned to the third; and it is attested by Cyprian in the same century and by Irenæus in the second. About 200 A. D., Merx thinks, this reading was in circulation in Africa, Smyrna, France, Alexandria, and Syria. The removal of this word from the later manuscripts, it is hinted, may have been owing to the influence of an ascetic ideal which prevailed in a later age.

The second passage is the reply of the priests to the question: "Which of these twain (the two sons in the parable) did his father's will?" (Matt. 21 : 31). In our Syriac it runs: "They said unto him: The last," that is, the one who said "Yes, sir," and did nothing. This

extraordinary reading, found also in Codex Bezæ, is regarded as the original. It is argued that the order of the answers—(1) no, (2) yes—with which we are familiar is the natural order. The father accosts the second son because the first has declined to obey him. But may we not assume that there is work enough for both in the vineyard? Again, the reading, "the last," associated with that order, is said to fit in better with the scathing comment: "The publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of God before you." These last words imply, thinks Merx, a radically perverse reply on the part of the priests. Mere formalists as they are, he seems to mean, they identify external correctness with righteousness. Nowhere else in the gospels is Jewish perversity so sharply and severely characterized. A third point on which stress is laid is the curious divergence of ℵ and B. The latter manuscript agrees with our Syriac in reading "the last," but inverts the order of the answers. The former has the same order, but substitutes "first" for "last." Our reading, therefore, has something in common with each, and yet fully agrees with neither.

A third interesting variant is the omission of the word "unprofitable" in Luke 17 : 10. Our Syriac reads : "We are servants : we have done that which it is our duty to do." This reading stands alone, but Merx accepts it as yielding better sense, and with considerable reason. The servant (or "slave," as he renders the word) who does his work well cannot, indeed, claim thanks; but he is distinctly profitable to his master. On the other hand, is it not possible that the word "unprofitable" was added by our Lord as a protest against Pharisaic self-righteousness? A typical Pharisee believed that he was entitled to thanks and a reward. Christ emphasized the opposite by this puzzling expression.

The second volume of the work, which will comprise a description and study of the manuscript, with a commentary, will no doubt set forth the views of Merx with much greater fulness.

The translation is accompanied by many marginal notes printed in painfully small type. Some of these are explanatory, others show the oriental idiom of the original, and a few suggest emendations of the text. The English rendering issued by Mrs. Lewis in an enlarged and revised form in 1896 is supplemented in some points by the labors of Merx, but not supplanted. On the contrary, the German version shows clearly the excellence of the English one, and so strengthens the reader's confidence in the latter.

The following are a few of the points not noticed by Mrs. Lewis:

(1) Matt. 9:24, "She is not dead but in a deep sleep." The Syriac is literally "sleepeth a sleep." (2) In Matt. 27:51 the Syriac for "veil" is literally "face of the door." (3) In Mark 6:30 the Syriac word probably means, not "apostles" in the Christian sense of the term, but "messengers," that is, those who conveyed the news of the Baptist's death. (4) In Luke 1:79, instead of "to shine upon them that sit in darkness," our Syriac gives: "Thou shalt shine, etc." (5) John 14:7, as found in our palimpsest, is rendered by Mark as follows: "If ye had not known me, would ye know my Father also?"

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

EXETER, ENGLAND.

LITERARY NOTES.

DODD, MEAD & CO. have published a collection of essays by John Watson and other English divines upon *Clerical Life*. They consist of advice to the clergy on matters connected with their profession, are full of sound sense, and are altogether enjoyable. It will make good reading for any clergyman on a Monday morning.

CHAS. SCRIBNER'S SONS have published Dr. Henry Van Dyke's *Sermons to Young Men*, a new and enlarged edition of *Straight Sermons* ($1.25). The change in title is certainly an improvement, and more in keeping with the character of the sermons and the good taste of the author. It would be difficult to find a series more adapted to the needs of most thoughtful young men than these of Dr. Van Dyke.

THE Macmillan Co. has published *Divine Immanence*, an essay on "The Spiritual Significance of Matter," by J. R. Illingworth. The volume is written so simply and distinctly that the subject, which is always in danger of suffering from metaphysical treatment, is made intelligible to the non-professional reader. It is a book which, while we should certainly differ from some of its positions, is worthy of careful consideration, and will be found serviceable in furnishing an *a priori* basis for the belief in miracles of the New Testament.

THE last volume in Dr. J. H. Allen's revised edition of the work of Renan, *The Apostles* (Boston: Roberts Bros.; $2.50), is likely to be the final English version of the volume. It is based upon the thirteenth French edition. In no one of his books do the peculiar excellence and weakness of Renan as a critic and historian more appear. For the period which the book covers, from the death of Christ to 45

A. D., is one which is full of difficulties and situations entirely adapted to the peculiar tastes and powers of the French scholar. While the book can hardly be taken as sober history, it is none the less interesting reading for the student of the New Testament.

PROFESSOR E. C. DARGAN, of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, has issued a new and twenty-third edition of the treatise by Dr. John A. Broadus upon *Preparation and Delivery of Sermons.* In it three classes of changes have been made: those which were indicated in an interleaved copy of the book used by Dr. Broadus in his class-room; those that had been suggested orally to Dr. Dargan; and still others which the editor himself has believed would be for the better. This history of this remarkable volume justifies the new edition, and the work will undoubtedly continue to be of great service to clergymen. (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son; $1.75.)

THE Advance Publishing Co., of Chicago, has printed in book form a series of Sunday evening sermons by Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, of Topeka, and afterwards published as a serial in the *Advance* under the title *In His Steps, What would Jesus Do?* ($0.75.) The book is a serious attempt to set forth in the form of a story an interpretation of the spirit and teaching of Jesus in the terms of modern life, especially as applied to social and civic problems. It is, of course, an ephemeral pamphlet rather than a permanent contribution to literature, but it is the work of a man who has studied both the teaching of Jesus and the problems of our time, and who has brought to bear upon both of them a judgment for the most part sober and sound, and the result is a book thoroughly readable, stimulating, and helpful.

WE have received from the publisher, J. C. B. Mohr, Freiburg i. B., *Catenen: Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Überlieferung*, by Hans Lietzmann. It is one of the best contributions to the knowledge of a most important auxiliary source for the determination of the Greek text of the Old and New Testaments. After a short résumé of historical character, the author gives the history of the transmission of the manuscripts containing catenæ. Catenæ are compilations by writers from the sixth century on, from the writings of the early Fathers of the church as aids to exegetical study. Such compilations exist for almost all of the books of the Old and New Testaments, and are a valuable source of our knowledge of early Christian exegesis. Their importance was generally underrated, and their contents were

not studied as they deserved. The author explains why the marginal catenæ were the earliest. They were written much finer than the text, seventy lines of such notes occupying the space of five to ten lines of the text. The marginal catenæ were followed shortly by the text catenæ, the commentary following directly upon the verse or verses to be explained.

We trust that this contribution is only the first of many more of the same character. A most welcome addition to the author's own work is Professor Usener's minute proof (pp. 28–34) that the commentary on Job wrongly attributed by a later hand to Origen is the work of Julianus of Halicarnassus, the great opponent to the Council of Chalcedon.

THE Macmillan Co. has published in *The Bible Story*, by Professors Bennett and Adeney (price, $1), a volume that is likely to be of considerable value in interesting children in the Bible. While it is true that probably nothing will ever equal the Bible itself as a story-teller, there are certain explanations and omissions which might very well be made if the book is to be used by young people. There is also a need of treating certain portions of the Bible in the light of current conclusions in regard to their character. The merit of this book is that the stories are told simply, without any insipid paraphrasing, and some attempt is made at a critical judgment as to their character. The book is supplied with a number of illustrations, some of which are good, and some of which can hardly be so described. It is published in both one and two volumes.

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